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WILLIAM FIELDING, EARL OF DENBIGH.

OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Vol. 4.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1630–1633

A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE, BOMBAY RECORD OFFICE, ETC.

BY

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'THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE GREAT MOGUL,' ETC.

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PREFACE

During the period here dealt with, India suffered from a severe famine, which extended over the whole country with the exception of the northern river basins. The resultant loss of life was terrible; and amongst other effects was a general cessation of cultivation and manufacture, entailing a corresponding shrinkage in the export trade. The English merchants suffered with the rest, but with characteristic energy they turned their attention to the development of fresh sources of profit. On the one hand, they found employment for their ships in carrying Indian and Persian merchants with their goods to and from Gombroon; on the other, they made special efforts to open up trade in the Bay of Bengal, establishing factories at Hariharpur (near Cuttack) and at Balasore. A further (though less direct) result of the diminution of commerce caused by the famine was the commencement of negotiations for an understanding with the Portuguese, which would, it was hoped, not only extend the area of English trade, but also lead to a considerable reduction of expense.

The present instalment contains about 320 documents, of which three-fourths belong to the India Office collections, five come from the Public Record Office, and one from the British Museum. For the first time we are able to include documents from an Indian Record Office, for the *Surat Factory Outward Letter Book* (vol. i)—the oldest volume

of English records now extant in that country—contributes about seventy entries. Five of the letters in that volume were published (in whole or in part) by Mr. G. W. Forrest, C.I.E., in his *Selections from the Letters, etc., preserved in the Bombay Secretariat: Home Series*, vol. i; but the rest are new to students. The documents taken from the O.C. ('Original Correspondence') series at the India Office, as also those from the 'East Indies' series at the Public Record Office, have been already calendared in Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury's volume for 1630–4; but they are here abstracted afresh, on a different system, in which verbatim quotation is freely used.

An account of the frontispiece will be found on p. xix of the introduction.

The editor desires to acknowledge with much gratitude the help he has received from Professor Blumhardt, Mr. T. W. Arnold, Mr. Henry Beveridge, Mr. D. W. Ferguson, Mr. J. J. Cotton, Mr. G. F. Paddison, Mr. Edgar Thurston, the Rev. Dr. G. P. Taylor, and others. He has also to thank Mr. H. G. Bull, of the India Office, for the assistance he has given him in reading the proofs and compiling the index.

INTRODUCTION

ALLUSION was made in the last volume to the difficulty experienced by the East India Company in raising capital for carrying on the trade, as shown by the failure of the attempt made in 1628 to form a Third Joint Stock. All that could then be managed was a subscription for a single venture to Surat and Persia ('the First Persian Voyage'[1]), and with this money the *Discovery* and the *Reformation* were equipped in the spring of 1629. Edward Heynes, who had been secretary to Sir Thomas Roe during his embassy, and had thereafter served the Company in India until 1625, was sent out as chief factor for the Persian portion of this new venture. At the same time the adventurers in the Second Joint Stock dispatched the *Charles* and a pinnace (the *Samuel*), under Captain Weddell, for the purpose of bringing home any goods belonging to them which might be awaiting shipment at Surat; while the *London* sailed for Bantam on a similar errand.

The arrival in India of those four ships, the destruction of the *Samuel* by some Portuguese frigates, and the dispatch of the remaining three, together with the *Jonas* (belonging to the Joint Stock), to Persia in December, 1629, have already been chronicled They returned to Surat in March, 1630, and thereupon the *Charles* and *Jonas* were prepared for their return to England. To complete their lading, notwithstanding the impending dissolution of the Joint Stock, President Wylde and his Council did not hesitate to borrow freely, involving the factory in a total debt of nearly 60,000*l.*[2] The ships sailed on April 14, 1630, accompanied by the *Discovery* and *Reformation*, which (in view of a threatened attack by the Portuguese) were ordered to go with them as far as St. Augustine's Bay

[1] This and the two subsequent ventures were often called the First, Second, and Third General Voyages.

[2] The Company's auditors declared on July 16, 1634, that Wylde left only a debt of 47,000*l.*; the rest appears to have been the accumulated charges for interest. The cargoes of the two ships were valued in England at about 170,000*l.*

(Madagascar) or the Comoro Islands, and then return in company with the 1630 fleet from England.

Among the passengers in the homeward-bound ships were Richard Wylde, who (anticipating, as it proved, his recall by the Company) had surrendered his post of President to John Skibbow (p. 40); George Page, a member of the Surat Council, who had been recalled by the Company; Richard Boothby, also a member of the Council, who had quarrelled with his colleagues and was being sent home in disgrace; and Gregory Clement, formerly chief at Agra. All four were accused of excessive private trading, and all fell under the Company's displeasure on this account. The general letter carried home on this occasion referred to the scarcity of indigo in Gujarāt caused by 'the want of raines these three passed yeares'; while mention was made of a boycott organized by the weavers of Broach, who objected to the large purchases of cotton yarn made by the English, presumably because of the consequent enhancement of its price. As regards private trade (the suppression of which was now the burden of all the Company's communications) the President and Council frankly acknowledged its general prevalence and asserted the impossibility of preventing it. They appear to have made some half-hearted attempts to lessen it, but these were fiercely resented by the persons affected, and Wylde and his associates, by their own notorious excesses in this direction, had lost all moral control. As regards political affairs they reported that the country was in peace and quietness, owing to the new Emperor 'having pollitickly wrought his owne securitie by cutting off all the bloud royall, without leaving any butt his owne sonnes that canne lay claime to his crowne;[1] and

[1] See, however, the interesting allusion made later (p. 160) to the escape to Tartary of Prince Bāyasanghar (son of Jahāngīr's brother Dāniyāl) and his claim to a portion of Shāh Jahān's dominions. Perhaps mention should also here be made of the impostor who claimed to be Bulāqī (Dāwar Bakhsh). Among the *Lisbon Transcripts* at the India Office is a copy of a letter from the Viceroy at Goa to King Philip, dated in December, 1632 (*Doc. Remett.*, book 30, f. 7), stating that he had sent Father Francisco de Leão (who was intimately acquainted with Bulāqī) to interview the claimant, with the result that the Father pronounced him to be an impostor. The Viceroy added that nevertheless the latter had been accepted as Bulāqī by the Persian Court and had been assigned an army with which to recover his dominions, in which case the Shāh had promised to give up Kandahār. It will be remembered that Mandelslo saw at Kasbin in 1637 a person described as Mīrzā Bulāqī, and was told that Shāh Jahān had sent an embassy to demand his surrender.

then impovrishing his amrawes or nobles by taking from them all their treasure and livings, allowing noe more then will maintaine them barely in an ordinary state' (p. 33). This latter assertion is important as indicating that Shāh Jahān, mindful of the trouble caused to his father by the great power and influence of the leading nobles, had set himself from the commencement of his reign to keep them in due subordination to the throne.

The volume containing the Court Minutes for the year commencing July, 1629, is no longer extant; but we know from other sources that the Company—assisted perhaps by the arrival of three ships from Surat in January, 1630—succeeded in raising funds for a Second General Voyage,[1] and with these equipped a fleet, consisting of the *James* (900 tons), *William* (700), and *Blessing* (700), which sailed in March, 1630, under Captain Matthew Morton. In these ships went Thomas Rastell, who had been reappointed President at Surat. He had held that post from 1621 to 1625, and since his return had been (from 1628) one of the 'Committees' of the Company. He was now given a much wider authority than any of his predecessors, for it had been decided to reduce Bantam from a Presidency to an Agency, and to place that and all other factories in the East under the care of Rastell, with headquarters at Surat. The letter announcing this decision also ordered that a permanent Council of three members[2] (besides the President) should be maintained at Surat. Another point to be noted is that from Rastell's arrival he and his colleagues altered their style to 'the President and Council of India, Persia, etc.' Later on some further steps were taken. By instructions sent out in 1632 the President was required to do nothing and write nothing without the concurrence of his Council (p. 274); and the general letter of the following year increased the number of members to five, including the President, and took away the latter's casting vote (Court Minutes, March 20, 1633).

On the way out Rastell met Weddell's homeward-bound ships at St. Augustine's Bay, and the *Discovery* and *Reformation* at the

[1] According to the Court Minutes of September 11, 1633, the amount subscribed was 140,000*l.*, and the amount sent out 150,000*l.* (see also *O.C.* 1311).

[2] This did not, however, preclude the attendance at consultations of other merchants who might for special reasons be invited to take part.

Comoros. In company with the latter, Morton's fleet proceeded to the coast of India, where they arrived on September 23, 1630, and found a force of about thirty Portuguese frigates awaiting them. The new Viceroy of Goa, the Conde de Linhares, had earlier in the year sent a representative to Surat with offers that, if the Mogul Emperor would expel the English and Dutch from his ports, the Portuguese would undertake to settle at Surat and bring thither as much trade as their opponents (p. 36). Considerable feeling had, however, been aroused by the action of the Portuguese in capturing some Indian junks at the time of the destruction of the *Samuel*; and this was intensified by the fact that even while the messenger from the Viceroy was at Surat, a further seizure of the same kind was made by the Portuguese frigates (p. 37), apparently in order to force the Indian vessels to pay for Portuguese passes, as in former times. Measures of retaliation were at once taken, and the English were hopeful that Shāh Jahān, who had come down to Burhānpur with designs (it was said) on Bāglān and Ahmadnagar, would turn his arms against Diu and Damān. The dispatch of the squadron of Portuguese frigates under Francisco Coutinho (with whom went, as a volunteer, the Viceroy's son, Fernando de Noronha) seems to have been intended as a countermove; but in the end it brought only humiliation and loss. Some negotiations took place between Coutinho and Father Antonio de Andrade on the one hand and the Governor of Surat on the other, but without definite result (*O Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv, p. 75, reprinted in Biker's *Tratados*, vol. i, p. 237). A Surat vessel, the *Mūsāī*, returning rich from the Red Sea, was seized upon arrival, and the Portuguese were in hopes that its still richer consort, the *Shāhī*, would likewise fall into their net. But at this juncture the English fleet made its appearance; and Rastell, who had managed with some difficulty to get ashore, and had thereupon assumed the office of President (September 26, 1630), at the urgent prayer of the Surat officials dispatched the ships to meet and escort the *Shāhī* into harbour.

The cruise proved fruitless, and the fleet returned on October 14 without having seen anything of the missing vessel or of the Dutch squadron expected from Batavia. Finding the port free from the enemy, the ships took up their usual anchorage and commenced to

land their cargoes. The following day, however, the Portuguese frigates reappeared on the scene, and for nearly a fortnight the English ships had to be continuously on the watch for the expected attack. The first engagement, however, took place on shore. On Sunday, October 17, the enemy landed a considerable force, as if for the purpose of assailing the English encampment. Captain Morton[1] thereupon manned his boats and hastened ashore to meet them. The opposing forces were about equal in number, but the Portuguese had the advantage of being supported by the fire of their frigates, some of which had drawn close in shore for the purpose. However, Morton's sailors had been worked up to a high pitch of exasperation by 'the howerly vexations and braveing of the enemye', and their instantaneous onset, cutlass in hand, was more than their opponents could face. They broke and fled to the frigates, vigorously pursued by the English tars, who did not hesitate 'to runn up to the chin in water, even to the very sides of their friggats'. Many of the fugitives were slain and twenty-seven were taken prisoners; while the only loss on the English side (besides a few wounded) was an 'ancient' corporal ('being a fate man') who died from the heat, or (according to another account) from drinking cold water when overheated.[2]

The result of this skirmish made a considerable impression upon the Indians. They were aware that the English were more than a match for the Portuguese at sea; but they had deemed the soldiers of the latter invincible on land. The spectacle of their utter rout by an equal number of English sailors dispelled this illusion, and, according to the President and Council at Surat, 'added more to our nations fame then hath all our sea fights formerly acquired here in India' (p. 122). Recollections of the engagement still lingered in 1674, when Dr. John Fryer visited Surat, for he tells us (*New Account*, p. 88) that 'the long-liv'd people yet at

[1] With him were Captain Green (of the *Blessing*) and Messrs. Wills and Morris (commanding the *William* and *Reformation* respectively). Morton and Green both died before they could receive any acknowledgement from the Company for their services on this occasion; but each of the other two was presented with plate to the value of twenty marks, with the Company's arms engraved thereon.

[2] No Portuguese account of the fight has been found. There is a brief mention of it in a Dutch letter from Surat (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. ix, no. 300), in which the number of the Portuguese is set down as only about eighty, which is about half the figure given on pp. 65, 67, 121.

Swalley remember a notable skirmish betwixt the English and Portugals there, wherein they were neatly intrapp'd, an ambuscado of ours falling upon them behind in such sort that they were compelled between them and the ships in the road to resign most of their lives, and gave by their fall a memorable name to a point they yet call Bloody Point for this very reason'.

The crestfallen Portuguese disappeared for a couple of days, and then they returned with four fireboats which had been carefully prepared for the destruction of the English fleet. On the evening of October 24 these vessels, fastened in pairs by long chains, were towed on the ebb tide towards Morton's ships. But the latter were on the watch, with their boats ahead of them; and the Portuguese in charge, finding themselves discovered, fired their boats prematurely and retired. The burning vessels were soon grappled with and towed ashore without doing the slightest damage; and thus the second attempt of the Portuguese ended in an ignominious failure. Two days later, a fresh squadron of frigates came in, making up the number to forty-five; but they did not venture within reach of the guns of the five English ships, and on October 27 the Portuguese withdrew altogether.

Towards the end of November, about twenty frigates made their appearance, and hovered round the English fleet until December 4, when they went away for good. In the meantime the Governor of Surat had patched up a peace with the Portuguese, who agreed to surrender the *Mūsāī* and their other captures in return for the release of the goods and men seized by the Indian authorities. The Portuguese dropped their demand for the expulsion of the English and Dutch from the Mogul territories; but, on the other hand, they secured a promise that the Indian junks should, as in earlier years, take out Portuguese passes. In August, 1631, the Viceroy reported that the Moorish vessels that went with the English to Persia paid 4,000 patacas (i. e. rials of eight) in accordance with the late agreement. This reconciliation is stated on p. 130 to have been due partly to a blockade of Goa by the Bījāpur forces, instigated by Shāh Jahān, and partly to the consternation caused by the great losses sustained in Ceylon, where the natives had made themselves masters of all but two of the Portuguese settlements. Still, the English were not altogether

freed from anxiety on this score, for there were persistent rumours that the Viceroy was coming in person with a large force (pp. 69, 123, 130). Fortunately, however, the usual difficulty in finding men and money, to say nothing of the distractions from other quarters, prevented him from carrying out his threats.

On the Coromandel Coast, at the beginning of 1630, the sole English foothold was the little fort at Armagon, as the settlement at Masulipatam had been abandoned in the autumn of 1628, owing to the exactions of the native officials. The merchants of that

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port, however, were anxious that the English should return, and the latter were equally desirous of doing so, owing to the fact that Armagon by itself was insufficient to supply their commercial needs. The result was the dispatch from Bantam on April 1, 1630, of two small vessels—the *Falcon* and the *Dove*—under Henry Sill, who had been appointed 'Agent of the Coast', with instructions to reopen trade at Masulipatam. Apparently commerce was resumed on the old lines, without any definite agreement (p. 78), and soon the English had five factories going (p. 85).

The Company at home were of course unaware of these developments. As already related, they had decided to reduce Bantam to an Agency, and to place that and the Coromandel factories under

Surat; but this decision appears to have been taken after the dispatch of the *Star* (300 tons) in December, 1629, with a cargo on account of the Second General Voyage.[1] In her went George Willoughby, whose instructions were to proceed first to the Coromandel Coast, invest some of his capital, and take the proceeds on to Bantam. He reached Armagon on June 27, 1630, and, after landing some of his goods, passed on to Masulipatam, where he found Sill and other factors employed on behalf of the Old Joint Stock. For a few months the two sets of merchants worked along without serious friction. Then on October 24 letters received from Surat acquainted Willoughby that the Company had appointed him to succeed to the Agency at Bantam, and that the factories on the Coromandel Coast had been transferred to the Surat Presidency. This quickly raised a dispute between him and Sill, who denied that Willoughby had any jurisdiction over the affairs or servants of the Old Joint Stock. In this the majority of the factors agreed with him, to Willoughby's mortification. The question was settled soon after by a further letter from Surat, dated December 3, 1630, in which Sill was appointed Agent on the Coast and Willoughby was restricted to Bantam and its immediate dependencies. One of the first duties of Willoughby and his colleagues was to advise whether factories should be maintained both at Masulipatam and Armagon. On this point they wrote to the Company that 'the factory [at] Armagon of necessity for providing of paintings is to be mayntayned, for you cannot be ascerteyned at present of convenient sorts and quanteties elsewhere': that an establishment of five factors and twenty soldiers would be required there, at an annual charge of about 666*l.* a year: that it 'will be necessary to build a fort of four points, each point haveing four peece ordnance (at present there only being a wild fortification without forme or strength), which wee suppose will cost 8,000 rials of eight':[2] and that a settlement at Masulipatam could not be dispensed with, as white calicoes were not to be had at Armagon (p. 81). In a letter

[1] The *Star* was the first ship (with the exception of the *Globe* in 1611) sent direct from England to the Coast. This course had been urged both from Surat and Batavia (see the previous volume, pp. 159, 180).

[2] According to p. 265, an attempt was made about this time to raise some sort of a bulwark, but the work was stopped at the peremptory demand of the local authorities.

addressed about the same time to the President and Council of Surat the Masulipatam factors advised that, following the example of the Dutch, an agreement should be made with the King of Golconda for the payment of an annual sum in lieu of all customs duties (p. 85)—a suggestion which was approved at Surat (p. 107), though it did not bear fruit until some years later.

The all-absorbing topic of 1630 was the frightful famine which, following three bad seasons (pp. 20, 79), had now culminated in 'an universall dearth over all this continent, of whose like in these parts noe former age hath record ; the country being wholy dismanteled by drougth . . . the poore mechaniques, weavers, washers, dyers, etc., abandoning their habitacions in multitudes, and instead of reliefe elcewhere have perished in the feilds for want of food to sustaine them' (p. 122). Many of the inhabitants fled into 'parts of more hoped plenty', i.e. the northern provinces, which had escaped the famine (p. 178); while others in desperation attacked and plundered all but the strongest parties of travellers (p. 129). From Gujarāt to the Golconda coast the land became one vast charnel-house. In the words of an Indian writer, the author of the *Bādshāhnāma* (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. vii, p. 24): 'Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness.'[1]

[1] Equally terrible accounts of the effects of the famine may be found in Van Twist's *Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien* (1648); in Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's edition of the Batavia *Dagh-Register*, 1631-34 (p. 33); and in Peter Mundy's narrative of his journey from Surat to Agra towards the close of 1630 (see p. 90).

According to the same writer, the Emperor ordered soup and bread to be distributed gratis in the chief centres: at Burhānpur a lakh of rupees, and at Ahmadābād half that sum, were given away in charity by his directions; while remissions of revenue were made to the extent of nearly seventy lakhs. It is to be feared, however, that, for want of adequate organization, much of this relief failed to reach the sufferers; at all events it did not prevent a terrible loss of life. For a time, while the peasants' scanty resources lasted, private enterprise brought food-stuffs into the stricken provinces; *brinjarries* with their pack-oxen came trooping from the north, and their demand for rupees in lieu of the local currency of mahmūdīs sent down the exchange value of the latter to an unheard-of figure (*O.C.* 1559). But when the last coin was spent and the last bangle disposed of, this traffic ceased; the peasant was left to die in the field and the weaver in his hut.

With materials and labour scarce and food-grains at famine rates, manufacture came of course to a standstill, at least so far as foreign trade was concerned. Indigo and calicoes were not necessities, and the rates at which they could compete in the markets of Europe were strictly limited; yet high prices were in the circumstances inevitable. Consequently the English merchants were reduced to the position of mere spectators of 'Gods heavye wrath . . . in the further punishing of these people', as they wrote in their stern Puritan way (p. 94). They themselves felt the pinch of scarcity (p. 97), though they had money enough at command, while the sea was open for their supply; and we find them bringing grain and dates from Gombroon (p. 143), and making arrangements for supplies of rice from Masulipatam, Bantam, and even from the distant islands of Comoro (pp. 94, 145, 148, 178). On the Coromandel Coast too, according to an eyewitness (p. 268), the land was 'sorely opprest with famine, the liveing eating up the dead, and men durst scarsly travell in the countrey for feare they should be kild and eaten'. Southern Persia was also troubled with scarcity (p. 290).

In spite of all difficulties, when 1630 was closing, the energy of the new President was making itself felt at Surat. Private trade was reduced to more decent limits; plans were set on foot for obtaining a supply of pepper and sugar from Bantam for sale in India and Persia; and the vessels proceeding from Surat to the

latter country, instead of carrying (besides native passengers and their goods) mostly the private trade of the merchants and seamen, were laden with goods for the Company, 'for an entrance into that trade, so benefitiall unto others, and hetherto so much neglected for your better behoufes' (p. 124). As it was dangerous, in view of possible attacks from the Portuguese, to separate the fleet, all five ships and the pinnace *Intelligence* (originally a native boat, but altered for service as 'an adviser') sailed in company for Gombroon on January 8, 1631. After embarking what silk was available there, they departed on March 18. Six days later, the *James*, *William*, and *Blessing* parted company from the rest and made for Swally, which was reached on April 5. The other three steered to the southwards, the *Discovery* and *Reformation* being bound for England,[1] while the pinnace was to go to the Comoros with letters for the outcoming fleet.

Rastell, finding large quantities of private trade in the ships returned from Persia, made a brave attempt to seize the lot, but met with such determined resistance that he was obliged to buy it all for the Company at 25 per cent. advance on cost (p. 158). His plans for 1631 included the dispatch of the *James* and *Blessing* to Bantam, and the *William* to the Coast of Coromandel. After touching at these places all three were to make for the Comoros and join the fleet expected from England. They sailed accordingly towards the end of April.

A letter sent overland from Surat to Persia in June, 1631, mentions that rain had at last fallen, and that prospects were consequently more hopeful. The Emperor was continuing his war in the Deccan, but with scanty success, as the three Kings were now

[1] They carried with them a private letter from President Rastell to Sir John Coke, Secretary of State, dated from Swally on January 7, 1631. This is now among Earl Cowper's MSS. (*Twelfth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission: Appendix*, pt. i, p. 447). In it Rastell refers to the arrival of the fleet, the famine, the war in the Deccan, and the defeat of the Portuguese with the loss of a hundred killed and twenty-seven prisoners. He says that he is in hopes of delivering in person King Charles's letter to the Mogul, who is now at Burhānpur, awaiting the result of the campaign against Khān Jahān. There is trouble on the frontier owing to the inroads of the Persians, and an expedition against them is probable; in that case the English may be asked to supply the aid of their ships, but they will avoid complying with any such request. Finally, Rastell commends his disconsolate wife and little ones to Coke's protection. With regard to this it may be explained that he had married a daughter of Alderman William Gore, whose widow had become Coke's second wife.

strongly confederated. The rebel Khān Jahān Lodī had, however, been surrounded by the royal forces under Abdulla Khān and 'so finished his daies, amongst the thickest of his enemyes fighting' (p. 160). From other sources we learn that Shāh Jahān's army had suffered terribly from the famine and the diseases it had brought in its train, insomuch that his 300,000 men were reported to have dwindled to 12,000 (*Lisbon Transcripts at India Office: Doc. Remett.*, bk. 29, f. 197).

The subscription for a Third General Voyage, Rastell tells us (p. 54), was completed the day before he left London (February, 1630), largely owing to the hopes excited by favourable reports of the prospects of trade in Persia. The amount subscribed appears to have been 100,000*l.*, and with this four ships were prepared. Of these, the *Mary* (800 tons) and *Exchange* (700), with the pinnace *Speedwell* (150), were to go to Persia and India under the command of James Slade; while the *Hopewell* (150 tons) was to proceed direct to the Coast of Coromandel and thence to Macassar to buy cloves. In addition, the adventurers of the Second Joint Stock determined to dispatch the *London* and *Palsgrave* under Captain John Hall to Bantam for the purpose of bringing home a large stock of pepper which was lying at that place on their account. The *Hopewell* set sail towards the end of November. Two months later the *Palsgrave* started; and she was followed by the *London* early in March, 1631.

In the latter month the Company were startled to learn that a certain Captain Quail, commanding the *Seahorse*, a small ship in the service of King Charles, had been met with off the Cape Verd Islands, and had reported that he was bound for the Red Sea. Inquiries were made of Sir William Russell, Treasurer of the Navy, who assured the Governor in reply that Quail had not gone for the East Indies; but as a matter of fact this was exactly what had happened. It seems that the *Seahorse* had sailed in the previous summer, with a royal commission dated March 19, 1630,[1] when England was still at war with Spain and Portugal; and this had

[1] A copy of Quail's commission will be found in *Marine Records, Miscell.*, vol. iv (no. 12); see also the documents in Mr. Sainsbury's calendar for 1630–34, pp. 11, 12. From p. 482 of that volume it appears that the ship did not actually depart before June. Probably she then went in the first instance to the West Indies.

been made a pretext for authorizing her commander to range the seas all the world over for the purpose of taking prizes. Slade overtook him at St. Augustine's Bay at the end of May, 1631, and demanded to see his commission (p. 177). This was found to be in order, and he also exhibited written instructions from the King to proceed to the Red Sea and there capture the vessels of any nation not in amity with His Majesty. In the face of these documents nothing could be done, and the *Seahorse* proceeded on her voyage to Mokha (p. 181). Off the coast of Arabia she took a couple of Malabar junks (p. 180, 226), but little of value was found in them. Quail then made for Surat, which was reached towards the end of September. There his crew suffered from the prevailing mortality, till of the fifty men he had brought from England less than half remained (p. 180). To the servants of the Company Quail gave great offence by ostentatiously displaying the royal flag, and some difficulty seems to have been put in the way of his obtaining supplies (p. 181). He quitted Surat on his return voyage on January 24, 1632 (p. 198), and was met at the Comoros by the outward-bound fleet in August. In the following October Quail died, and the command was taken by the mate, William Marsh, who carried the vessel to the West Indies, and finally to Plymouth in July, 1633. After the *Seahorse's* departure from Surat she robbed a Malabar junk of a quantity of provisions; and, as the latter had an English pass, the Company's servants were obliged to pay 100*l.* in compensation. This appears to have been the only actual loss inflicted upon the Company's interests by the cruise, and it is to be noted that Quail made no attempt to molest vessels actually owned by the subjects of the Mogul; but the fact that the King should send one of his ships to the East on such an errand was disturbing, and it can scarcely be doubted that the experience thus gained of the ease with which Asiatic junks could be plundered led directly to the more serious piracies of Cobb and Ayres a few years later.

Slade's fleet sailed from the Downs on February 2, 1631. On board the *Mary* was a distinguished passenger in the person of William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, the first English nobleman to go touring in the East.[1] His prominent position at court was due

[1] The distinction of being the first English tourist to visit India may be claimed for the

primarily to his having married the sister of the famous Duke of Buckingham; and it was to this relationship, rather than to any special ability or knowledge of naval matters, that he owed his appointments as rear-admiral of the Cadiz expedition of 1625 and commander of the squadron sent to relieve Rochelle in 1628. His present visit to the East, which seems to have been prompted entirely by curiosity, was made with the sanction and approval of his royal master, who furnished him with commendatory letters to the Shāh of Persia, the Nawāb Āsaf Khān, and the Khānkhānān (probably also to the Mogul Emperor, though this is not recorded).[1] King Charles used his influence with the East India Company to induce them to provide passages for the Earl and his followers in one of their ships. The Committees were far from pleased at the idea of this, and were only partially mollified when Lord Denbigh assured them on his honour that he would do nothing to their prejudice, and that his voyage should not involve the least charge upon their funds. Fresh annoyance was felt when His Lordship insisted upon being allowed the best cabin on board the chief ship (the *Mary*); but in the end this too was conceded, on the understanding that the factors would be allowed the use of 'the great cabin' for consultations when necessary.

Of the events of his journey we hear but little. He landed at Swally on November 22, 1631 (p. 150), with the intention of paying a visit to the Emperor, who was then at Burhānpur. The Company's servants provided him with a lodging in their factory at Surat, and did their best to find him attendants and means of conveyance (p. 194). He departed for the court just before Christmas, after some trouble with the Governor of Surat, who had impounded all the horses at the disposal of the English (p. 200). According to a Dutch letter (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. ix, no. 307) His Lordship was favourably received and entertained by

eccentric Tom Coryat, who reached that country overland early in 1615. He was closely followed, however, by Humphrey Boughton, who came out as a passenger in the same fleet as Sir Thomas Roe, arriving in September of that year. Boughton died at Burhānpur two months later; and Coryat 'overtook Death' in Dec., 1617, at Surat.

[1] See Mr. Sainsbury's calendar for 1630–34, p. 38. Some of these credentials (or copies of them) appear to be still in the possession of the family (*Fourth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission: Appendix*, p. 254). The engraved portrait of the Earl, by Voerst, reproduced in vol. ii of *Hedges' Diary*, describes him as ambassador to the King of Persia.

Shāh Jahān, who gave him at his departure 6,000 rupees. Returning to Surat, he had fresh difficulties with the Governor, and was glad to slip aboard the *Mary*, where he was safe from that official's annoyances. This short experience of India seems to have been enough for him, for he made up his mind to remain on board the *Mary* during the rest of her cruise. He accordingly went in her to Masulipatam and Gombroon (p. 257), and on her return to Surat embarked in the *James* for England (January, 1633). On August 28, 1633, James Howell wrote to Sir Francis Windebank that 'the Lord Denbigh is returned from the Great Mogor full of jewells' (*Dom. State Papers*, vol. ccxlv, no. 33); and this is the last we hear of the matter, except a false alarm of huge quantities of private trade brought home by His Lordship (Court Minutes, September 20, 1633).

Presumably the Earl was proud of his visit to the East, for in his portrait by Van Dyck he is shown as dressed in a semi-Indian costume and attended by an Indian servant, with a background of tropical scenery. This picture, which is now in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton—the first Duke having married Lord Denbigh's eldest daughter—has been reproduced (from an engraving by H. T. Ryan) as a frontispiece to the present volume. The story of the Earl's later years has of course nothing to do with our purpose here; yet allusion may perhaps be made to the circumstances of his death, as illustrating his loyal and generous nature. At the outbreak of the Civil War he found himself passed over for command in favour of younger men; whereupon, in spite of his advanced age, he attached himself as a volunteer to Rupert's regiment and (as Clarendon tells us) served 'with unwearied pains and exact submission to discipline and order, and engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger'. He did not live to see the ruin of the cause to which he had devoted himself with such ardour; for in April, 1643, he was dangerously wounded in Rupert's attack on Birmingham, and died five days later.

The instructions given to Captain Slade by the Company were to wait at the Comoro Islands for the *William* and *Blessing* until July 10, 1631, and then, should they fail to appear, to proceed direct to Persia. By the *Intelligence*, however, which was met at St. Augustine's Bay (Madagascar), he received two letters which

must have caused him and his colleagues much perplexity. One was from the President and Council at Surat, directing him to wait until August 20 for the three ships from Bantam and the Coromandel Coast, and then (with or without them) to sail for Gombroon; in the other, of a later date, the factors in Persia wrote that it would be useless for the fleet to adopt this course, since the silk could not be brought to the port by the time of their arrival, and urged that Slade should disregard his orders and make Surat his first port. At first it was decided to take this advice; then, in view of the fact that such a course meant disobedience to the express orders both of the Company and of the President and Council of Surat, that resolution was rescinded, and it was determined that Persia should be the destination of the fleet in the first instance. At the end of August, however, the *William* arrived from the Coromandel Coast with a fresh letter from Surat, in which the President and Council (on learning the views of the Persia factors) wrote cancelling their former instructions and definitely ordering the fleet to come straight to India. As a matter of fact, the merchants in Persia, repenting their first advice, had subsequently written to Surat, saying that after all they thought it would be possible to get their silk to Gombroon by the time desired; and thereupon the President and Council had sent further letters to Masulipatam, re-directing the fleet to Persia. These letters, however, missed the *William*, with the result that Captain Slade remained in ignorance of the fresh change of plan and, after waiting in vain for the *James* and *Blessing*, made straight for Surat, arriving at that port on October 14, 1631. The *Blessing* was picked up on the way, and reported that she and her consort had lost their monsoon for Bantam, and had been forced to anchor in a bay near the southern extremity of Sumatra. There they agreed to separate, the *Blessing* going back to join Slade's fleet, while the *James* struggled on to Bantam, which was reached with much difficulty on August 24, 1631.

The mission of the three ships to the Coast and Bantam was partly due to the serious dissensions between the factors employed at the former place. At the end of January, 1631, Willoughby took matters into his own hands, seized Sill and his principal supporters at Armagon, and carried them prisoners in the *Star* to Bantam, installing John Hunter as Agent for the Coast until fresh orders

should arrive from Surat. This action was, to say the least, extremely arbitrary; and the arguments used to justify it, chiefly on the ground of Sill's private trade, can scarcely be considered convincing. Rastell and his colleagues were exceedingly angry, and at once took vigorous measures. Skibbow and Bangham were sent to Bantam in the *James* with directions to bring Willoughby, Sill, and others to Surat for examination; while the *William* carried John Norris and Thomas Robinson to the Coast to displace Hunter, and send him and Osmond Smith to the Presidency for the same purpose. These orders were duly carried out, and Willoughby, much to his indignation, found himself in his turn a prisoner aboard the *James*. This vessel started for Surat again early in October, 1631, but lost the monsoon and had to return to Bantam. She did not set out afresh until the end of the year, and it was November 28, 1632, before she reached Surat. Death had in the meantime put an end to Sill's troubles; but Willoughby was arraigned, censured, and sent home in the *James*. On his arrival, however, he was well received by the Committees, who were easily persuaded that he had in effect been punished for endeavouring to suppress private trade. He was therefore rewarded with the post of President at Bantam, at a salary of 300*l.*, and dispatched again to the East at the beginning of 1634.

In India the summer and autumn of 1631 were little less full of misery than the preceding year. In October the Viceroy at Goa informed his royal master that the deaths in Gujarāt during the past ten months had reached three millions, while those in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar were estimated at another million. Writing on September 8 to Bantam, President Rastell and his Council mentioned that, though there were hopes of a peace in the Deccan, the situation was scarcely improved in other respects. The long-prayed-for rains had come with a vengeance and had spoilt the crops from which so much was hoped, with the result that food-prices were as high as ever. In the train of famine had come sicknesses of various kinds; and there was 'not a family throughout either here or Baroch that hath not beene vissited with agues, feavors, and pestilentiall diseases' (p. 166). 'The tymes here'—runs another letter (p. 178)—'are soe miserable that never in the memory of man any the like famine and mortallity hapened.

This that was in a manner the garden of the world is nowe turned into a wilderness.' The most vivid description of all is contained in a letter from a Dutch factor printed on p. 180, which deserves to be read at full length. The English and Dutch suffered with the rest. Slade's fleet found 'all the merchants in this factory either dead or sicke, those liveinge hardly able to helpe one another' (p. 178). President Rastell was for a time the exception, but soon he too fell ill. He died on November 7, 1631 (pp. 149, 179), and the management of affairs at Surat passed into the feeble hands of Joseph Hopkinson, who was formally elected President on December 29.

Meanwhile, on the other side of India an interesting experiment had been made. The *Hopewell* reached Armagon from England on June 25, 1631, and Masulipatam on the 10th of the following month (p. 203). Three days later a consultation was held, at which it was decided to send her to 'the Bay of Bangalla', in accordance with instructions given by President Rastell (p. 203).[1] She sailed, under the charge of Thomas Robinson, on July 29, her ultimate destination being Pipplī, in Bengal. First, however, a visit was paid to 'Calapara' (a port difficult to identify: see p. 188), the intention of the merchants being to wait upon Bāqir Khān, the Sūbadār of Orissa, who was there with an army, and whose permission was necessary before making any attempt to trade in his province. He seems to have given his visitors an affable reception and to have complied with their request. Preparations were now made for resuming the voyage. But the weather was bad, and a large boat the English had brought with them was split to pieces in the surf on the bar; with the result that the merchants decided to go overland to Mānikpatam, where the *Hopewell* met them on August 18. Here again the bar gave them great trouble and the crossing of it cost several lives; but the merchants and their goods were safely embarked on October 6. All idea of proceeding to Pipplī had been given up, and sail was made for Masulipatam,

[1] This venture, which (like that of the following year) has been generally overlooked by historians, who have been content to date English trade in the Bay from 1633, was not actually the first English expedition in that direction; for we learn from pp. 81 and 168 that the *Falcon*, during her stay in those parts in 1630 (April–December), had made a voyage to 'Gingelly'—by which is probably meant Vizagapatam (see *Fort St. George Diary for* 1684, edited by A. T. Pringle, p. 170)

which was reached five days later (p. 190). The enterprise was admittedly an unsuccessful one, but it was held to have 'laid a good begining to a future hopefull trade' (p. 183).

In view of the recent celebrations in America, it may be of interest to note in passing that one of the factors brought out to the Coast by the *Hopewell* was Richard Hudson, son of the famous Arctic explorer. In April, 1614, when practically no hope remained that Henry Hudson would ever be seen again, his 'wife or widdowe' (as she is pathetically termed) implored the East India Company to help her in her poverty by employing 'a younge youth, a sonne of his'; and the Committees, 'conceyvinge that therein they were partlie obliged in charitye to give assistaunce, in reguard that his father perished in the service of the comonwealth,' caused the boy to be bound apprentice and sent him to the East. He spent some time in the Company's factory at Hirado (in Japan); and in 1626 we find him proceeding from Batavia to Masulipatam in the *Abigail*, to be employed there as an assistant. He was at home again in 1630, and was then engaged by the Company to return to India in the *Hopewell*, as already mentioned. The rest of his life was spent in various factories on the Coast and in the Bay of Bengal. About July, 1647, he became chief in the Bay (*O.C.* 2046), and he died at his post early in the following year.

Having taken in what cargo was ready at Masulipatam and Armagon, the *Hopewell* departed for Bantam on December 26, 1631, and arrived there a month later. The factors at Armagon wrote excusing the small returns they had been able to make as due to the 'miserable tymes, full fraught with the calamitie of warr, pestilence, and famine' (p. 183); but they held out hopes of better success the following year, provided they were furnished with funds in good time. Another letter of this period (p. 203) dwelt upon the depopulation caused by the famine, and aggravated by the wars between the Nāyaks and their Hindu overlord. An attack upon Armagon fort was daily expected, and it was intended to procure permission, if possible, to build a brick wall round the house for greater security.[1]

[1] At some undetermined date Agent Norris gave the Nāyak a present of the value of 1,000 pagodas for permission to strengthen the fort; but nothing was done until

In the letters brought out by the *Hopewell*, the Company, while not interfering with Rastell's control over the Coromandel factories, had ordered that the accounts of the latter should be subject to the 'commaund and approvall' of the Agent at Bantam; but, on the ground that such an arrangement was obviously undesirable, the President and Council at Surat resolved that action should be suspended until their objections were heard and decided upon at home (p. 165).

Captain Slade sailed from Swally for Persia on January 24, 1632, with the *Mary*, *Exchange*, *William*, and *Blessing*. In the letters sent by this fleet the President and Council drew a woeful

Captain Altham (apparently in 1634) boldly pulled down the existing building and erected a new one (*O.C.* 1536). In this connexion the following may be cited from the Court Minutes at home, under date of December 30, 1633: 'Hereupon a proposicion was made for the repayring and strengthening of their fort at Armagon, beeing a place of very great consequence to the Company, and will every day more and more bee advantageous unto them, if the same were more strongely fortifyed and inlarged. The Court, for their better informacion herein, called for John Hunter, who for many yeares had lyved as a factour in that place and upon the Coast, and demaunded of him his opinion whether that place bee of that importance to the Company as may invite them to the charge propounded. To which hee made answeare that first, the country of itselfe is most healthfull, and the natives very well affected to the English; next, that the Company hath more previledges and ymunities graunted them then [there?] from the late King (which hee doubts not but may bee confirmed and inlarged by the nowe present King) then they have in all or any part of India besides; thirdly, that the fort is of very great consequence to the Company, by reason it keepes all the people round about them, both Christians and the Gentries [Gentoos], in awe and subjeccion under them; that the Company payes but one per cent. custome inwards and no custome at all outwards; that they have all wracks at sea three miles north and three miles south from their fort; besides many other previledges which hee cannott readily recount, but will deliver a note in writing at the next court; and therefore declared that hee conceaved the Court should doe well to contynue that factory and to repayre and inlarge the said fort, for that they [*sic*] proffitts which they shall rayse thereby will soone answeare the charge they shall bestowe thereon. The Court upon this relacion resolved first to endeavour the confirmacion of their former previledges with an inlargement thereof from the present King, before they give order for repayring the fort; and to that end directed Mr. Ellam, in their letters to the Factory at Armagon, to authorize Mr. Norris and Captain Altham to repayre to the said King and to present him with a present for obteyning and confirming of their former previledges, and in particuler for leave to remove their fort nearer to the waterside, that soe the fort may bee able to protect the Companies shipps as they lye at anchour and defend [*sic*] the enemy that shall offer any attempt against them at sea; which, as the fort nowe stands, beeing soe farre into the land it cannott doe; and then, when theis previledges are graunted and confirmed by the King that nowe is, the Company will then give further direccions concerning the repayring or newe building of the said fort in such manner as upon informacion from the said Norris and Altham they shalbee advised.'

picture of the state of affairs at Surat.[1] The country round had been ruined by famine and floods, and though the handicraftsmen were beginning to return, both cotton goods and indigo were scarce and dear. All the subordinate factories in the Mogul's dominions had been dissolved and the factors withdrawn to Surat 'for want of busines and savinge of charges'. Of the merchants, thirteen were dead and the rest were sick and weak. They were heavily in debt, with no prospect of avoiding further commitments. In these circumstances their chief hope of providing return cargoes for their ships lay in supplies of silk from Persia; and partly for this purpose they directed their two pinnaces, the *Speedwell* and the *Intelligence*, after visiting Sumatra and Bantam respectively, to make for Madagascar and the Comoros and instruct the fleet from England to proceed in the first instance to Persia.

Slade's fleet returned from Gombroon early in April, 1632; and at the end of the same month all four ships sailed again—the *Blessing* for England, the *William* for Bantam, and the *Mary* and *Exchange* for Masulipatam, to carry freight goods from that port to Persia. The two latter ships reached Armagon on May 24, and Masulipatam six days later. Having embarked about 130 native passengers and their goods, a start was made for Persia at the end of June. Gombroon was reached about September 23; and nine days later Captain Weddell's fleet from England arrived in the same port. The experiment of carrying freight goods from Masulipatam to Persia appears to have been considered a success, for the Gombroon factors reported that the resulting receipts were nearly 3,000*l.* (p. 239). Besides the direct gain, it had the effect of conciliating the native authorities, who were only too glad to see merchants attracted to their port by the prospect of the safe and rapid carriage of their goods in European vessels (pp. 208, 211).

Weddell's two ships, the *Charles* and the *Jonas*, which had left Surat in April, 1630, reached England about a year later; and the Company thereupon endeavoured to raise funds for a Fourth General Voyage; but the subscriptions totalled only 11,000*l.* and so the

[1] The steady progress of Surat as a port (largely, no doubt, owing to the Dutch and English trade there), in spite of all adverse influences, is shown by the fact that the Governor at this time found it worth his while to give a large sum to secure his continuance in office (p. 193).

attempt came to nothing. In the face of this it is rather surprising to be told that in the same year a Third Joint Stock was started, with a capital of over 400,000*l.* Owing to the loss of the Court Minutes for this period, the only authoritative information we have is that contained in Jeremy Sambrooke's report of a later date (*Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xl, p. 33). His statement is as follows: 'The Third Joynt Stock, with remaines brought over from the Second Stock and an additional subscripcion, made up a capitall of 420,700*li.*'[1] Of course it is not likely that the whole of this new capital was called up at once; but from p. 291 it appears that over 160,000*l.* was sent out to the East in the next season.

The first ship dispatched after the formation of the new Stock was the *Pearl* (250 tons), which left the Downs a little before Christmas, 1631, bound for the Coromandel Coast. Three months later a fleet of five vessels—the *Charles*, *Jonas*, *Dolphin*, *Hart*, and *Swallow*—under the command of Captain Weddell, sailed for India and Persia, with a cargo of 43,000*l.* worth of goods, besides 103,000*l.* in money (p. 291). At the Comoro Islands (August, 1632) they met the *Seahorse*, as already narrated, and also the *James* and the *Intelligence*. In obedience to the orders received, the fleet now made straight for Persia, anchoring off Gombroon on October 2, where they found the *Mary* and *Exchange*. After a stay of twenty days the whole of the ships departed for Surat, and arrived there on November 28.

The *Pearl* reached Armagon in August, 1632, bringing a cargo valued at 10,300*l.*, intended, it would seem, for investment in piece-goods, which were to be taken to Bantam and Macassar for the provision of a return lading of pepper and spices. In announcing to Surat the arrival of the vessel, Norris and Cartwright, the chief factors at Masulipatam, wrote that they hoped to secure the desired goods at Petapoli and Vīravāsaram, though the time was short. Apparently they had made some proposal to the King of Golconda regarding the payment of a lump sum in lieu of customs duties and tolls; but this had been opposed by Mīrzā Rōzbihān, the Governor of the district, who, with other officials, required bribes as the price

[1] The capital subscribed appears to have been 385,000*l.* (Court Minutes, June 20, 1634), to which was added 43,000*l.* by the absorption of the remains of the Three General Voyages (*ibid.*, November 21, 1634).

of any concession. ‘Such is the miserable condicion of this cuntry, whence justice and truth are fleed long since, the poore exceedingly suffering the riches tyrannie without redresse’ (p. 228). Mention is also made of a desire expressed by the Company to have a ship laden home direct from the Coast; this the factors thought might well be effected, especially as prospects were favourable, in view of the plentiful harvest anticipated.

One of the merchants sent out in the *Pearl* was Thomas Colley, who not long after died at the newly-established factory in Orissa. Thereupon his papers were sent home, and, being found to contain abundant evidence of private trade, were detained. To this accident we owe the preservation of the many interesting letters given on pp. 228, 237, &c., which throw valuable sidelights on the labours and amusements of the Company's servants on the Coast. From these it appears that their operations extended over a large area—roughly the whole district from Masulipatam to Armagon; a glimpse is also given of the rigorous methods employed by the local officials, and of a popular rising thus produced (p. 232).

A letter from Masulipatam dated October 18, 1632, refers to ‘our freinds being all gone to Bengala’ (p. 238); while another of November 24 announces the return of ‘our shipp’ on the previous day. From this it is evident that the *Pearl* had been ordered to follow up the attempt made by the *Hopewell* the year before to get to a Bengal port. She started on October 1; but of the result we are only told that ‘the tyme did not afforde our shipp the gettinge to our porte in Bengala; and soe, haveinge spent this tyme not to much purpose, we are retorned with the discoverie only of some places and ports which may yeald benefitt to our [imploiers in future tymes?]. In this voyage we have buryed Mr. Morris, the masters brother; two men more were drowned goeinge over the barr of Manecapatam’ (p. 244). As reference is made to fresh discoveries, it may be surmised that the *Pearl* got further to the eastwards than her predecessor; and it is possible that she actually reached Harispur, the port which was the objective of the well-known voyage of the following year.

From Agra we hear little or nothing at this time. It appears, however, from the invaluable journal of Peter Mundy (already cited) that in August, 1632, under instructions from Surat, he was

sent with a native broker to Patna, to renew the experiment which had terminated so unsatisfactorily in 1620–21. He reached his destination on September 17, and succeeded in selling some quicksilver and vermilion; but the prospects of trade were uninviting, and after two months' stay he returned to Agra. He notes that it was found afterwards that the President and Council had written 'Patna' by mistake, intending in reality to direct an investment at Samāna.

For the English fleet at Swally the year 1633 opened with serious disaster. The *Swallow*, in firing a salute, took fire and, drifting on to Weddell's flag-ship, the *Charles*, set her alight also.[1] In spite of every effort, both vessels were destroyed, with some loss of life, and all that was saved of their contents was part of the money on board the *Swallow*. The master of the latter, Giles Waterman, was held to be chiefly responsible; and he, the gunner, and other officers were sent home in the *James* to be punished. No blame attached to Weddell, for he was on shore at the time; and he was permitted by the President and Council to retain his command, shifting his flag to the *Jonas*, another vessel of his fleet.

At the end of January, 1633, Weddell departed for Persia with the *Jonas*, *Mary*, *Hart*, and *Dolphin*. There was a prospect of exciting developments, for the Khān of Shirāz was still strongly bent upon taking Muskat from the Portuguese with the aid of an English fleet. This had been repeatedly proposed to the Company's factors, but they had put off the Persians with excuses from time to time, and it was only when they found that the Dutch were offering to undertake this service in their place that they took up the matter in earnest (pp. 211, 240, 278). On Weddell's arrival, however, he found that an end had been put to the project by the death of the Khān, who had been cruelly executed by order of

[1] Few details are forthcoming from the English records; but the following is a Dutch account of the occurrence:—'The English pinnace *Swallow* took her departure for Java on January 11 [January 1, *O.S.*], 1633; and in passing by her admiral, the *Charles*, she fired three guns as a salute. In so doing the gunroom caught fire, and the flames burnt with such vehemence that it was impossible to quench them. The blazing vessel was close to the *Charles* and, her anchor being inconsiderately let fall, she ran aboard that ship and set her alight also, with the result that she was burnt to the water's edge. This all happened so quickly that nothing could be done except to save the crews of the two vessels' (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 171).

his jealous master (pp. 288, 293); in addition to which the country was threatened with invasion by the Georgians on the north and the Turks on the west (p. 295).

At the same time as Weddell's fleet left Swally for Persia, the *James* sailed for England[1] and the *Exchange* for Sumatra, accompanied by the *Intelligence*, which was afterwards to seek the new fleet from England at Madagascar or the Comoros, with orders to them to proceed straight to Persia, as Weddell had done the previous year. From Sumatra the *Exchange* was to go on to Bantam, and there lade for England.

On Weddell's return from Persia (April 5, 1633) he was sent to Masulipatam with the *Jonas*, *Mary*, and *Hart*, while the *Dolphin* was told off to proceed to Bantam and thence home. With the former vessels went Thomas Joyce, a member of the Surat Council, who had been appointed to succeed Norris as Agent on the Coast, with Ralph Cartwright as second. He was specially instructed (p. 300) to inquire into the necessity of retaining Armagon, to push on 'the Bengala trade', and to follow up a scheme which Norris had set on foot (p. 228) for obtaining a grant of privileges from the King of Golconda, similar to those recently secured by the Dutch.

The *Swan* was dispatched from England to the Coast of Coromandel in September, 1632, carrying with her instructions that that Agency was to revert to the care of the President at Bantam (Court Minutes, September 5). Her cargo was invoiced at 22,454*l.* She reached Masulipatam in June, 1633, and found there Weddell's three vessels, which had arrived some three weeks earlier. After taking in freight goods for native merchants, Weddell sailed again for Gombroon, where he arrived in September. As, owing to the rise of prices induced by the recent famine, the Masulipatam factors had not been able to purchase goods at remunerative rates for either Persia or Bantam, they were at a loss what to do with the *Swan*; but in the end they decided, by a consultation held on June 27, to dispatch her to Bengal, to second a venture in that direction which had been begun in the preceding April. To this experiment we must now for a few moments turn our attention.

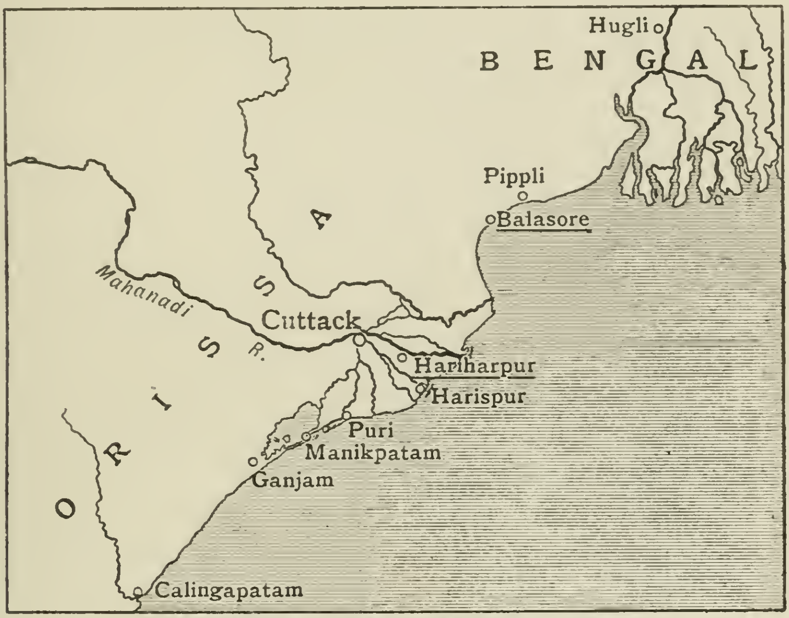
[1] Half empty, according to the Dutch. A quantity of indigo had been expected from Agra, but it could not be got down in time, owing to want of money (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 195).

As we have seen, voyages had already been made in the Bay during the three previous years, but with little or no success. The present attempt had a more ambitious object, namely, that of establishing a permanent factory or factories in Orissa or Bengal. It may seem strange that this action had been so long delayed. The fertility of the Ganges delta was well known; the Portuguese had been settled at Hūglī and Pipplī for many years; and both the Dutch and the Danes had made profitable voyages in the Bay. The answer seems to be that the goods sought by the English merchants on the Coast were chiefly the calicoes of Golconda and the Hindu countries to the southwards; that the products of Bengal were readily obtainable at Masulipatam, and there was no temptation to venture further afield in quest of them, at the risk of being snapped up by the Portuguese war-vessels; moreover, the troubles at Masulipatam, culminating in the withdrawal of the English in 1628, had effectually stopped for a time any schemes they may have entertained for the enlargement of their commerce. The change of policy which followed their return in 1630 seems to have been due partly to the great famine. Not only did the high price of all food-stuffs render the coasting-trade in rice, sugar, and butter more remunerative, but the general dearth of piece-goods which resulted from the mortality among the weavers made the coarse silks and cottons of Bengal more valuable in the eyes of merchants. Another less obvious, but perhaps equally effective, inducement to venture in this direction was the prospect it offered of lucrative private trade for the merchants employed, who in the then state of affairs at Masulipatam and its neighbourhood had little opportunity for investing their own capital. Further, we seem to discern that the capture of Hūglī by the Mogul forces in September, 1632, and the supposed intention of the Emperor to stamp out Portuguese trade in Bengal, had led the Masulipatam factors to conclude that a particularly favourable opportunity had offered itself for planting English trade in those parts (p. 308).

Be this as it may, in the spring of 1633 the endeavour was made. On April 6 a party of eight Englishmen—two merchants (Cartwright and Colley) and six sailors or attendants[1]—departed from

[1] One of these, William Bruton, quartermaster of the *Hopewell*, wrote an account which is the chief source of our information regarding the expedition. It was published in 1638,

Masulipatam in a country junk for the northwards. On Easter Day (April 21) they anchored off a place they called 'Harssapoore', i. e. the modern Harispur Gar, at the mouth of the Pātuā, in Orissa; and on the following day they all went ashore. Cartwright and two other Englishmen started on April 27 for the city of Cuttack, in order to visit the Nawāb in charge of the province, a Persian named Āghā Muhammad Zamān (Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 241), who had recently succeeded Bāqir Khān in that post.[1] From him they obtained (May 5) a parwāna to trade free of all customs



THE BAY FACTORIES in 1633

or duties and to build houses or ships. Armed with this grant they returned to Hariharpur, a place about half-way between Cuttack and their port, and, summoning thither the Englishmen they had left at Harispur, they proceeded to build a factory. On June 16 Cartwright and two more set out for Balasore, leaving

under the title of *Newes from the East-Indies: or a Voyage to Bengalla*: and reprinted in vol. viii of Osborne's *Travels*, and also in vol. v of the enlarged *Hakluyt* of 1809–12. Dr. C. R. Wilson has reproduced a great deal of it in the introduction to the first volume of his *Early Annals of the British in Bengal*. See also Yule's *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii, p. 176.

[1] In February, 1633, Peter Mundy, on his way from Agra to Surat, overtook, a little beyond Fatehpur Sikrī, 'Backeer Ckaun, whoe was newly come from Oreshaw.'

Colley in charge.[1] The latter intended to pay a visit to Jagannāth (Purī), in the hope of disposing of some of his goods there; but he fell ill and died (August 25) before he could undertake the enterprise.

Meanwhile, as already mentioned, the Masulipatam factors had decided to send on to Bengal the *Swan*. This vessel anchored off Harispur on July 22, but finding no English there passed on to Balasore, where Cartwright had established himself. News arriving of the death of Colley, Robert Littler, a factor who had come in the *Swan*, and John Powell, the purser of that vessel, were sent to Hariharpur, which they reached on September 19. In October Littler paid a visit to Jagannāth, and the following month Bruton was sent thither—an incident to which we owe an interesting account of that famous temple and its worshippers.

At this point Bruton's narrative comes to an end, and we get little further light from the few letters that have survived. We know that Cartwright went further afield from Balasore in October (p. 320): that many of the crew of the *Swan* died from over-indulgence in arrack and fresh fruit: that several sailors were killed or carried off by some Arakanese, though the survivors were afterwards ransomed at Pipplī: that the English goods found little sale, and that consequently some of them were, in April, 1634, sent inland to Patna for disposal (*O.C.* 1536). It may be added that the Dutch records speak of the *Swan* as having gone, not to Balasore, but to Pipplī, and as having returned from that port to Armagon towards the end of December, 1633, with a quantity of sugar, rice, and piece-goods, besides some lac and sugar belonging to native merchants (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 242).

In March, 1633, a new fleet started from England for Persia and India under Captain Allnutt, consisting of the *Palsgrave*, *Discovery*, and *Reformation*, laden with nearly 19,000*l.* worth of goods and over 61,000*l.* in gold and silver (p. 286). It carried out also a new President for Surat. A proposal that Wylde should be reappointed had found influential backing, but the Company could not so easily forget his past delinquencies; and so the post was offered to, and accepted by, William Methwold, who had been Agent at Masuli-

[1] The 'Harrarpore' accounts, we may notice, began on June 12, 1633; those for Balasore on August 15 of that year (*O.C.* 1585).

patam in 1618–23 and had on his return to London contributed to the 1626 edition of *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (p. 993) an interesting account of Golconda and the neighbouring countries. As we shall see, the Company found no reason to regret their choice. Alike in character and ability Methwold stood head and shoulders above both his immediate predecessors and his colleagues. His period of office proved to be an exceptionally arduous one—he himself wrote later: 'I knowe no trouble or misery (except sicknesse) which I have not mett withall in this my short employment in India'—yet no danger daunted him, no emergency found him wanting; his cool judgement at once pointed out the course to be pursued, while his energy and fixity of purpose wrested success from even the most adverse conditions. In dealing with the Indian officials and merchants he was courteous and conciliatory, without for a moment forgetting his responsibilities as the representative of a foreign nation. The Dutch, who were pleased to find that he had spent some time in the Netherlands and spoke their language well, praised his affability and discretion, and wished that other English Presidents had been like him (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. ix, no. 312). To his subordinates he strove to be just and considerate, at the same time insisting upon their fulfilling punctually their obligations to the Company, particularly in the matter of private trade, in which respect he himself set them a good example; yet, when occasion required, he was fearless in his censures, as even members of Council like Fremlen and Bornford found to their cost. Nor was he less outspoken in his letters to his employers, who, however, had the good sense to respect his openness and to give him their steady and whole-hearted support. In November, 1635, the Company's bookkeeper, mistaking his instructions, drew up a 'tart' letter to Surat, censuring certain transactions; but the 'Committees' ordered him to revise the draft and, 'wherein hee shall find any harsh or bitter language, to sweeten the same in a more mild and gentle phrase'; and further he was directed to express the Company's appreciation of Methwold's services, his 'well written and digested' letters, his care for the prevention of private trade, the course he had taken for lessening their 'huge debt' and charge of their factories, and especially his good service in coming to an agreement with the Portuguese (*Court Minutes of the E. India Company*,

1635–39, p. 115). This is by no means a bad summary of the chief features of Methwold's administration.

The fleet reached the Comoros without incident in August, and found there the pinnace *Intelligence*. Dispatching her back to Surat with letters, Methwold proceeded to Gombroon, where he found Weddell's squadron awaiting him. On October 10 all six vessels sailed for Swally, and arrived there the 5th of the following month. Two days later Methwold landed and assumed the post of President. Matters were in a far from satisfactory condition. Hopkinson, who seems to have been a man of very ordinary abilities at his best, had been in bad health for a long time, and from December, 1632 (pp. 247, 258), Nathaniel Mountney had been acting as coadjutor. It is not even certain whether Hopkinson survived until Methwold's arrival; and in any case he must have died before the end of the year (p. 318). The factors were in debt to the amount of 90,000*l.*—a sum far beyond their means of paying. Indigo and piece-goods were so scarce and dear that there was little prospect of satisfying the Company's expectations of return cargoes. And, finally, the English were on bad terms with the Governor of Surat, whose attempts at extortion they had been forced to resist.

One of the first matters to engage the new President's attention was the endeavour that was being made, with the sanction and support of the Mogul Emperor, to render the indigo trade a monopoly. If we may trust the assertion of the Governor of Surat (*O.C.* 1543 A; *Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. ix, no. 310), this had originated in a suggestion made by Hopkinson that the Emperor might with advantage follow in respect of this commodity the practice of his Persian brother in regard to silk, which was a royal monopoly and could only be obtained by the European merchants on terms dictated by the Shāh. Wherever the idea came from, it was warmly taken up at court; and a letter of January 4, 1633, states that the Governor of Surat had shown the English factors a licence from his master to offer indigo in exchange for broadcloth (p. 256). In the autumn of that year the scheme was set in action by a royal edict confining the sale of indigo throughout the Mogul dominions for three years to a Hindu named Manohar Dās, who was to be assisted by a loan from the royal treasury, which was

to share in any profit that might result. The Dutch and English protested strongly, but without result, for behind the Hindu merchant stood an influential noble, Mīr Jumla (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. ix, no. 310; *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 262). However, they had a powerful weapon left, for it was open to them to refrain from buying and, as they were the principal customers for the commodity, there was every hope that by this means they would break down the monopoly. Accordingly, on November 19, 1633, a solemn engagement was entered into by the representatives of the two nations at Surat, pledging both parties to abstain for one year from purchase of indigo, save at prices laid down; and further agreeing in the latter case to buy in partnership and divide the proceeds equally. It was also stipulated that, in order to hinder native merchants from stepping into their places, neither side should permit indigo to be shipped as freight for Persia in Dutch or English vessels. The further efforts made to defeat the monopolists will be narrated in the next volume.

It is necessary, before concluding, to give some account of the negotiations which were being carried on at this time for the purpose of putting an end to the war which had been waged between the English and the Portuguese ever since the former made their appearance in the Indian seas. Hopes of an amicable arrangement were excited in 1630, when, after five years of desultory hostilities, King Charles and King Philip commenced negotiations for peace. It was expected in London that the Portuguese would recognize the futility of their opposition to English trade in the East, and would agree to abstain from a warfare for which so little real justification could be found. This, however, was not to be, at least for the present; and the treaty which was signed at Madrid on November 5, 1630, reproduced, with a few unimportant modifications, the treaty of 1604. The Company's trade in the regions claimed by Portugal was not expressly forbidden, but neither was it in any way conceded; and on the return of Sir Francis Cottington, the special commissioner for the treaty, it was made clear that the Portuguese had no intention of changing their attitude in the matter. At a meeting held on March 18, 1631, 'Mr. Governour made report to the Court that himselfe, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Alderman Garway, and Mr. Muns had attended Sir Francis Cottington, lately

returned out of Spaine, and understood from him that hee had negotiated with the King of Spaine, the Counsell, and the President of Portugall concerning peace to bee concluded betwene the English and the Portugalls beyond the Cape and in all parts of the Indies; who all seemed very inclyneable to the mocion; whereupon comissioners beeing sent for out of Portugall, the remonstrance of peace was made knowne unto them, but they utterly rejected the proposicion, glorying in the victories they have acquired in the Indies. Soe that the Company stand upon the same termes of hostility with them in the Indies as formerly.'

In India, however, the English authorities, who were acutely conscious of the drawbacks of the existing state of affairs, did not lose hopes of effecting an accommodation; and they found zealous helpers in the Jesuits, who were frequently passing through Surat and found it expedient to keep on friendly terms with the Europeans there. Even before the conclusion of peace, while Kerridge was still President (1625–28), overtures had been made, but only to be scornfully rejected by the Viceroy (Court Minutes, September 26, 1634). In May, 1631, Rastell endeavoured to open negotiations through Father Antonio Pereira and Father Antonio de Andrade, the Provincial of the Jesuits, but the only reply that he got was an inquiry whether the English would be willing to join in an offensive and defensive alliance against the Dutch (*Lisbon Transcripts: Doc. Remett.*, book 29, ff. 145, 197). The mention made on p. 216 of some fruitless overtures may possibly relate to this incident. Early in 1633 the Viceroy (who had not yet received a copy of the treaty of peace and was in some doubt as to its terms) reported to King Philip a conversation that had taken place between the English President and Father Reimão on the same subject (*Lisbon Transcripts: Doc. Remett.*, book 30, f. 263); to which the King replied in March, 1634, refusing absolutely to entertain the idea, and stating that he had called upon the English monarch to withdraw his subjects from the East Indies, as their remaining was a clear breach of the new treaty; if, however, they should apply for a suspension of arms to enable them to carry out this withdrawal, the Viceroy might grant this on his own authority, pending a reference to Madrid (*ibid.*, f. 185). But at the time when this last letter was written negotiations were actually in progress. Methwold seems to have

taken up the matter warmly as soon as he entered upon his administration, stimulated thereto, it may be, by the parlous state of affairs at Surat. With bad trade and a heavy debt, it was most desirable both to reduce expenses and to open up new sources of revenue. As regards the former, an accommodation with the Portuguese would allow the English to send ships singly to Persia or elsewhere, and moreover, the annual cruise to the Comoros to escort to Surat the new fleet from England might then be dispensed with; while in the same event new markets would be opened to the English at Goa, Macao, and other Portuguese settlements, to say nothing of opportunities of earning freight by carrying Portuguese goods. On the other hand, the Viceroy and his advisers might be expected to be more amenable to reason, seeing that the clouds were thickening around them, while the prospects of effective assistance from Europe were growing more remote. During the past few years their power had been rudely shaken by native risings in Ceylon and East Africa, and by a determined attack upon Malacca by the King of Achin; and a still more threatening menace was the ever-growing power of the Dutch in the Eastern seas and their evident intention of carrying the war to the gates of Goa itself. Though the English were taking no active part in these hostilities, it would be a gain to detach them from their co-religionists, and perhaps sow dissension between the two nations; while there were obvious advantages in being able to send goods from one Portuguese settlement to another under cover of the English flag.

So the negotiations began. In the middle of December, 1633, we find Methwold writing to Father Tavares, who was now the Provincial of the Jesuits at Goa, intimating the readiness of the English to 'lay by these our unwilling armes', if the Portuguese authorities were willing to construe the Treaty of Madrid as extending to the East Indies. A week later Tavares replied from Damān, promising to do all in his power to effect an accommodation; and with his letter came a safe-conduct for one or more Englishmen to repair to that city for the purpose of treating upon the matter. The result of this will be seen when the next instalment is published.

As usual, throughout the volume we find the English merchants

complaining of the competition of the Dutch, whose skill and prudence, backed by immense resources, had given them an indisputable supremacy in the Eastern trade. In the Malay Archipelago they were easily first, and, but for the fact that Bantam, Achin, Jambi, and Macassar still remained free ports, they would have completely monopolized the commerce of those regions. They were the only Europeans in Japan, and they were actively endeavouring to secure a footing in China. Yet in spite of these calls upon their energies—to say nothing of the war they were waging against the Portuguese—we find them competing vigorously with the English Company's servants in India and Persia, outbidding them for silk, indigo, and piece-goods, and beating them too in the sale of European and other commodities. They possessed a decided advantage in having at their command quantities of spices and similar products of the Far East, which were eagerly bought in Persia and India; while even in broadcloth the bales brought by the Dutchmen excelled those of their rivals 'in goodnes and well dressing above the one halfe' (p. 27). Money also they appeared to have in abundance; for instance, at the beginning of 1632 one fleet landed at Gombroon no less than 150,000*l.* in specie, besides goods to the same value (pp. 207, 210). Of other European nations, the Danes were still active, though their equipment was on a modest scale and they devoted themselves chiefly to the traffic in calicoes and spices between Macassar and the Coromandel Coast (pp. 113, 184). The French, too, were beginning to awake to the advantages of Oriental commerce and to send vessels to those seas (pp. 198, 222, 275); and on p. 141 occurs a reference to some project for French trade in Persia.

Turning to miscellaneous topics, we may point out that St. Augustine's Bay in Madagascar[1] had now become the regular port of call for the Company's ships on the outward voyage in lieu of the Cape. Not only were provisions more easily obtainable at the former place, but experience had shown that Table Bay was at certain seasons difficult to enter or to leave, and that the best course from England to the Indies was to stretch first across the Southern Atlantic towards Brazil, and then south-easterly to a point

[1] On p. 42 it is stated that Captain Weddell had compiled a vocabulary of Malagasy words, and that some of the natives had been taken to England.

well away from the Cape, thus avoiding the cross currents and heavy seas which had led the early Portuguese explorers to call that promontory the 'Cabo Tormentoso'. On the homeward voyage also the Company's captains often put into St. Augustine's; and increasing use was being made of the island of Mauritius (then uninhabited) as a place of refreshment (pp. 41, 218). The Comoro Islands were much favoured for similar purposes.

The rules laid down by President Hopkinson and his Council (p. 302) for the regulation of the English factory at Surat should be read with Boothby's indictment (p. 16) of the state of things prevalent there three years earlier. A night's absence without sufficient excuse cost the offender forty shillings; the penalty for neglect of divine service was half-a-crown for weekdays and double that amount for Sundays; any one guilty of drunkenness was to be fined two shillings; while oaths or curses were luxuries only to be enjoyed at a cost of twelvepence apiece. The severest punishment of all was reserved for 'strikeing and abuseing divers people that have no relacion to our service', any one convicted of this offence being liable to three days' imprisonment in irons.

Many quaint and graphic phrases are scattered up and down the volume; and touches of homely humour or sarcasm are not wanting, as when Boothby remarks (p. 151) that 'like will to like, quoth the Divill when he danced with the collier'. On p. 289 will be found the rather obvious jingle of 'mend it or end it', which is sometimes set down as the invention of a statesman who is still living.

ENGLISH CHIEFS AT SURAT, 1613–1633.

ALDWORTH, THOMAS.	Left in charge of the factory at Best's departure in January, 1613. Died at Nariād, October 4, 1615.
KERRIDGE, THOMAS.	Appointed Agent, February 18, 1616. Title changed to President in 1618 or 1619. Handed over charge i nApril, 1621.
RASTELL, THOMAS.	Became President in April, 1621. Sailed for England, February 15, 1625.
KERRIDGE, THOMAS.	Arrived as President, March 8, 1625. Sailed for England in April, 1628.
WYLDE, RICHARD.	Elected President, April 13, 1628. Sailed for England, April 14, 1630.
SKIBBOW, JOHN.	Took over charge, April 14, 1630.
RASTELL, THOMAS.	Arrived from England as President, September 26, 1630. Died November 7, 1631.
HOPKINSON, JOSEPH.	Elected President, December 29, 1631. Died towards the end of 1633.
METHWOLD, WILLIAM.	Arrived as President, November 7, 1633.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1630–33

EDWARD HEYNES AT GOMBROON TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, FEBRUARY 20, 1630 (*O.C.* 1299).

Recounts the events of their voyage since quitting Torbay on April 19, 1629. They passed the Cape on July 18, and reached Mohilla on August 14. The pinnace *Samuel*, under William Taylor, lost company about 200 leagues short of the Cape, but arrived at Mohilla a day after the rest. She brought in a small junk trading from Madagascar to Mozambique, laden with sandal-wood, 'paddy (or ryce in husks),' and 126 slaves. The vessel and cargo were decided to be Portuguese property and were confiscated accordingly. Leaving Mohilla on August 25, the fleet made its way to Swally 'with much industry and labour' and a considerable amount of sickness. The date of their arrival was October 10; and they found in the road the *Jonas* and six Dutch ships. Whilst there, at the earnest request of the native merchants, the *Samuel* and a Dutch vessel went down to the Bar to guard certain junks lading for Persia and the Red Sea. The Portuguese fleet of frigates for Cambay passing by, and seeing these two small ships alone, 'desperately laid the Dutch aboard with eight friggotts, and the *Samuell* with four.' Three or four of the frigates were sunk; but 'unfortunately a traine laid in the *Samuell*, doubting to be entred by the enemy, tooke fire to her utter ruine, losse of 14 men, and extreame hurte of the master and as many more, who were taken upp by the Dutch'.[1] The Surat factors required Heynes to deliver to them from the stock ordered for Persia 35,000*l.* and 2,000 'covetts' [Port. *covado*, a cubit or ell] of cloth. He at first made a difficulty about this; but at last complied, finding sufficient warrant in the Court's letters addressed to Surat, 'together with the urgent

[1] For other accounts of this incident see the previous volume; also *infra*, p. 29.

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necessitie your Factory then stood in, by their ingagements unto those people amongest whome they live, insomuch that if itt should have pleased God we had lost our monsone or bin putt by our portt by the enemy this yeare, the estate of your busines doubtles had suffered, with your sarvants, who by our tardy arrivall became notwithstanding senceable thereof, insomuch your President and Councell was denyed to passe the river or to visite your shipps, and all busines att stand untill their creditours were assured of satisfaccion by treasure arrived in our fleete . . . What your comissions hath bin to the President and Councell to ingage themselves to make you returnes upon creditt, even as farr as 100,000*l.* per annum, I am ignorant of; butt I suppose comodityes bought with mony att interest, or goods att tyme, nay, such goods as their creditours will give and their false brokers make choyce of, can doubtfully produce you profitt, and will doubtles inthrall your busines into many inconveniences in the future.' The *Charles*, *Jonas*, *Discovery*, and *Reformation* (the two first fully, and the others partially, laden with native goods and passengers, the freight amounting to 64,139½ mahmūdīs) sailed on December 20 for Persia, in company with six Dutch vessels, for better defence against the Portuguese. They reached Gombroon on January 20, 1630. Refers to the general letter for their subsequent proceedings. (*Received by the* Jonas, *April* 8, 1631. 2½ *pp.*)

William Burt at Ispahān to the Company, February 27, 1630 (*O.C.* 1300).

Safe arrival of the fleet. Heynes was forced to spare the Surat Factory 35,000*l.* out of the money of the New Stock . . . 'Concerninge the establishinge of your customes [at Gombroon?], what before you had [from?] the Chaunes[1] authority only, you have now both from this new K[ing] and Chane also.' . . . Thinks that if the ships go to Mokha with a well-chosen cargo they will do well, especially if the proceeds be invested in 'cowa [coffee] seedes, which finds vente both in Suratt and Persia unto your large advantages'. . . . Welcomes the arrival of Heynes. Robert Tottle died on the way. Richard Cooper has also arrived, and four or

[1] The Khān of Shirāz.

five men have been taken on shore to fill the places of deceased members. . . . 'Concerninge your aide in the surprisinge Muscatt, I shall not be forward in motioninge, but apply myselfe to utmost excuses which will turne you to best account, givinge them delayes without offence or exception; for whosoever undertaketh that busines must doe itt by a stronge force and longe siege, which wilbe of small advantage unto you.' . . . He doubts whether this trade can be driven 'by particular Voyages', in view of the strong forces of the Portuguese. Will be careful not to put the Company's estate on board the ships while the enemy's forces are in the Gulf. Large supplies of money brought by the Dutch, who would be very glad if the English abandoned the trade, when 'they would quickly secure themselves in the Gulph from any annoyance of the Portugall or beinge much beholdinge to the Persian'. . . . Complains of the long detention of the fleet at Surat. The general letter received from that factory, penned by Mr. Wylde, was so stuffed with malicious terms that the rest refused to sign except on the understanding that they did not concur in his 'rude and uncivill language'. . . . ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. The rest of the letter is concerned with Persian affairs.*)

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 9, 1630 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 25).

Refer to previous letters, transcripts of which are now sent. Arrival of the *Mary* from Bantam, and of the *Hart*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell* from Surat. The latter three reached the Thames about the middle of January, an unseasonable time to arrive; desire that in future the ships may be dispatched at an earlier date to avoid the risks inseparable from their coming upon the English coast in winter. Received by these ships letters from Surat dated April 11, 1629; but the letters from Persia had been put into a large box with a number of books, and consequently did not come to hand till three weeks later. This carelessness has caused much trouble. Many of the bales of calico received had been ripped up and part of the contents abstracted and replaced by rags or lumps of earth; this must be prevented in future. Other bundles of goods were damaged by water, owing probably to the stormy weather

encountered by the ships. The Baroda and Surat calicoes are dear and badly chosen, while the former cloth is a yard shorter than it used to be. The Broach calicoes are better as regards price than the others, but are still too dear. Expect more care to be exercised in the future. As regards shashes,[1] the 'sursalles' and 'cuscoses' will no doubt sell to profit, and also the lower sorts of the 'sallowes' and 'guldares'; but from the more expensive kinds of the latter there is no hope of profit. The 'ornees',[2] girdles, handkerchiefs, and neckcloths are not vendible here. For indigo, both the Agra and Sarkhej sorts 'are but meane gheere'. That bought at Ajmer was so reasonable in price that further purchases should be considered. In future, all saltpetre sent should be perfectly refined; some of that received by these ships was hardly worth the freight. Most of the bales of sugar have been damaged by oil being spilt upon them; while the sugar itself is very coarse and dear. This and other unprofitable commodities should be forborne in future. The ginger is small, decayed, and dear, 'and the price here nothing answerable.' The cotton yarn has received much damage from wet; the quality, however, is good, and it will doubtless be a profitable commodity if bought to advantage. The gum-lac proves unsatisfactory. The unrefined sort in lumps is in no demand here. That upon sticks, unrefined, will yield profit if it be of a deep brown colour; but if it is bright and clear, 'it argueth small vertue or tincture to be in it and will yeld as small proffitt.' That 'refined into cornes or graines' is only esteemed if very clear; 'and if it be refyned into cakes or shells, if the said cakes or shells be not small and vearie cleare also, but darke and muddy, it will not sell.' Many of the bloodstones are too pale 'for our marketts'; and here again the factors seem to have bought carelessly. In view of 'their discommendacions of, and complaints against' Jeronimo de Paiva, he was dismissed upon his arrival. The difference between Man and Robinson has been examined, and it has been found that the latter was wronged by the former. Approve the remittance of 8,000 rials[3] to Armagon. In view of the encouraging sales effected of

[1] Turban-cloths. For the other piece-goods see pp. 62, 63 of the previous volume.

[2] Van Twist (*General Beschrijvinge van Indien*, 1648) explains that 'ornijs' are silken veils, ornamented with gold, used by women; and Pelsart (1627) has a note to the same effect. It is the Hind. *orhnī*, a general term for a woman's sheet or mantle.

[3] An error for mahmūdīs; see pp. 325, 329 of the previous volume.

quicksilver, lead, and amber beads, greater quantities have been sent in the present ships. Have also forwarded a quantity of coral. Broadcloths, kerseys, and perpetuanoes supplied, as desired. The statement in their letter that Biāna indigo costs three times as much as Sarkhej does not agree with the entries in the invoice; explanation is requested. Have settled with Capt. Morton about his plate, and with Sir John Gore for his coral. Not much gold sent this time, though apparently the former consignment was more profitable than silver. Will take care in the weight of any elephants' teeth dispatched in future; at present that commodity is rather dearer here than in India. Marvel to hear that they intend to invest at Ahmadābād in dutties and narrow baftas instead of indigo, seeing that they have been repeatedly told not to buy any more of the former. There is no fear of glutting the market here by sending cotton yarn, for much more can be sold than has ever yet come from India. Only doubly refined saltpetre wanted. Would be glad to see their commanders and mariners brought to use good husbandry in their expense of provisions and harbour victuals; 'to that ende have we in our comissions limmitted and restreined their comissions here given them (in anie kinde) untill the tyme of our ships arrivall at Surratt, and then to yeld up their ships with all their authority and comissions into the hands of our President and Councell, and from them to receave authority and directions for their further progresse and imployment.' The settlement of a factory in 'Synda'[1] must not be undertaken except after good consideration. Disapprove the detention of the Persia accounts. To take away all excuse in future, the Agent in that country has been instructed to send his accounts to Surat in duplicate. Their accusations against Burt shall be judged when he has had an opportunity of answering them. Censure these differences and enjoin both sides not to let their wrangling injure the Company's business. The President and Council have no authority to open letters addressed by other merchants directly to the Company; they therefore did wrong in intercepting Burt's, and further in putting it in a box of books without any advice in their letter where to look for it. This was 'a prowde and arrogant fact of yours, and (as it concerneth

[1] This name was often applied to Lārībandar (the 'Diul-Sind' of the Portuguese), the port of Tatta, in Sind; but here Tatta itself is meant.

Burt) injurious, if not malicious, in our constructions'. While it was allowable to send Boothby to Baroda for some temporary purpose, it was not right to keep him there permanently and thus shut him out of Council. For the future order that 'our President shall have three other adjoyned unto him for Councell, and the same to remayne constantly together for the same purpose, and not to be designed unto anie forraigne or remote imployments, except upon some necessary or speciall occasion for a tyme, which ended, then to retourne again unto his propper place'.[1] Now send three ships under the command of Matthew Morton, viz. the *Great James* (John Roberts, master), the *William* (Matthew Wills), and the *Blessing* (Michael Green). Their lading consists of broadcloths, kerseys, perpetuanoes, sword-blades, knives, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, lead, coral, amber, amber beads, and some scarlets, velvets, satins, etc., for presents; also 302,940½ rials of eight and 17,500 rix dollars (value together 80,110*l.*[2]), and gold coins worth 7,870*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* Specify the goods to be retained at Surat or sent to Persia respectively. About 23,000*l.* to be dispatched thither in silver (or partly in gold, if this be desirable). On the return of the ships from Persia, the *James* is to be sent to Bantam with a cargo of Indian goods to the value of 10,000*l.* 'For the better ordering and execution whereof, and of all other our businesses, we have nowe againe enterteyned, and in our ship *Great James* sent for Surratt, our good and worthy frende Mr. Thomas Rastell, one of our Comittees heere, to staie in the countrie three wholl yeres after his arivall; for whose worth (in our one [i.e. own] experience) we have and hereby doe constitute him our sole and onelie President of all our affaires, factories, and people in India [i.e. the East Indies]; unto whome, with his joynt Councell, for the more exquisite performance of our said affaires, we do injoyne all our people in the Indies, both by land and sea, to be subordinate; with whome all our factoryes shall coresponde and be accomptable. The authority of presidencie, therefore, formerly invested upon our Principall and Councell at Jaquatra [Batavia] (nowe lately removed to Bantam) we have and doe hereby frustrate and make voide, and do ordeyne as well that factory as also Jambe, Macassar, Musilpatan and Armagon, and all

[1] An important step in the evolution of the Council.
[2] Evidently each rial or dollar was taken at 5*s.*

others to be subordinate to our said President and Councell of Surratt as abovesaid. And insteade of the name and title of President, wherewith our said principall factor in Bantam was formerly invested, we doe herewith suppresse the same and asscribe unto him the name and title of Agent; unto whome neverthelesse we doe still assigne and confirme a Councell or Consultacion, for the better ordering and effecting of our businesses there. But concerning the power and authority which upon some consideracions for the present tyme we have heretofore given unto that President and Councell for the making or inlarging of anie manns wages upon occasion, this power we do abrogate and resume againe unto our owne selves. Nevertheles, we will not omit, either by increase of wages or some other waies, to gratifie all such as our said Agent and Councell at Bantam shall deservedly commende unto us for the performance of anie good office or service at anie time in our affaires or unto the persons of our people. We do likewise hereby frustrate and make voide unto our said Agent and Councell in Bantam all that power and authoritie of judicature and execution of judgement of lyfe and death, which at anie tyme heretofore we had conferred or caused to be conferred upon them by our late King James of blessed memorie;[1] requiring them hereby to send unto us, with the next ship from thence, all those instruments which have bin sent unto them by us under the said Kings Majesties authority concerning the same. But, notwithstanding what we have hereabove written, we doe order and require our factories of Macassar and Jambee (who are to receave their supplies from Bantam) to be accomptable to our said Agent and Councell at Bantam, who by their experiences are, or by their propinquity of place must be, best able to judge of the justnes of their accompts, either for the approving or dis[ap]proving thereof. To that ende we do order our sayd two factories of Jambee and Macassar to send their accompts yerely (and oftner also if it shalbe so required) unto our said Agent and Councell at Bantam in double coppyes, that the one of them may remayn at Bantam for the entring of them into their bookes, and the other be sent unto our President and Councell in Surratt for their perusall. Our factory in Persia we do require shall contynue to be subordinate unto our President and

[1] See a note on p. 65 of the previous volume.

Counsell in Surratt in the manner as we formerly established it, to corresponde with them in all our affaires and accompting unto them concerning the same. Unto our said President and Councell in Surratt (for so long time only as Mr. Thomas Rastell shall live and remayne there, but no longer) we do grant the contynuance of power and liberty to increase the wages of well deserving factors, as neede shall so require; yet with this provizo also, so far forth as this Company shall not disalowe the said augmentacions by their next letters after advise thereof given them. But unto any marriners or seamen we will allow no wages or increases to be made there.' Directions for the investment of the funds now sent. Of white calicoes, 100,000 or 120,000 pieces are wanted, viz. 80,000 or 90,000 pieces of narrow baftas [1] of Broach, Baroda, and Surat, with 30,000 of broad baftas of Broach and Baroda. The narrow baftas should be mostly of the cheaper sorts (of 2 or 2½ mahmūdīs apiece), but with 4,000 of from 2½ to 4 mahmūdīs, 3,000 of from 4 to 6, and 3,000 of from 6 to 12 mahmūdīs. Of the broad baftas, the same proportion should be cheap qualities (3 to 3½ mahmūdīs), and the rest from 4 to 5 mahmūdīs, except 1,000, which should be of the best quality (from 5 to 8 mahmūdīs). Special care should be exercised in the case of the narrow baftas, as those last received were not only bad and dear but short of the usual length, being 13 and 13½ yards instead of 14 or 14½. They were also narrower than usual (though the Baroda baftas have always been narrower than those of Broach). In future they should be 'clossar made', better folded, and more carefully packed. The narrow baftas of Ahmadābād are both bad and wanting in breadth; no more should be sent. No dutties should be bought, unless they meet with 500 or 1,000 pieces of a full yard broad, 12 yards long, 'white, closse made, and reasonably priced.' No brown calico, 'sereyas,' or Agra cloth (including 'semianoes') wanted at all. They may send 500 pieces yearly of broad 'nicanees', either of Broach or Baroda. 'Of short stuffes (blewe and white checkered or striped) of 4 yards long, be they capperees, popules, hassanees, or chuckerees, we desire none for a time.' The 'capperees' are least in demand, and dearest too. Not more than 300 or 400 pieces of 'thrid tapseelis' should be

[1] Notes on most of the various kinds of piece-goods here mentioned will be found in the earlier volumes.

supplied. Of 'keeses of blewe and white workes', 400 or 500 pieces may be forwarded yearly; also a sample consignment of 200 of the 'fine white keeses', provided they be 'of the demittee wale,[1] and not of the dieper workes'. No more 'callicoe lawnes or shasshes, be they sallowes, guldares, sursallees, or cuscosees' wanted for the present. The girdles, handkerchiefs, neckcloths, and 'ornees' sent are in no demand; and no fresh varieties of calicoes should be provided for the present. Would be glad to have 2,000 barrels (of 280 lb.) of Sarkhej indigo, and 1,000 of the Agra sort. The flat indigo should be put up into square baskets, for convenience of stowage. Have a large quantity of gum-lac on hand; but three or four tons may be sent, if it be on sticks and of a deep colour. Twenty-five tons of doubly refined saltpetre, put up in casks, required by every ship. Care should be taken that the sailors do not appropriate empty casks for their own purposes, as they have often done hitherto. Can sell 600 or 700 bales of cotton yarn annually, and this quantity should be sent, though permission is given to diminish it if goods of more value are available. Have still a quantity of spikenard on hand, and desire no more for the present. Sugar forbidden for the future; 'the charges eateth out all the gaine.' The dry ginger, though bad, has been sold, but the profit is so small that no further consignment should be sent, except for the purpose of filling up empty space in the ships. Of long pepper a small quantity may be provided. The mariners seem to buy this commodity much cheaper than the factors do. No aloes Socotrina wanted. If good green ginger may be had, 20 or 30 jars may be supplied, well-stoppered to keep out the 'cacaroches'. Quilts and carpets should not be sent till asked for. Two baskets of bloodstones will suffice; they should be of lively colours and neatly cut. Cotton wool should only be provided to fill up vacant corners of the ships. Pepper costs at Surat nearly *6d.* a lb., which is more than double the price 'in the southerne partes [i. e. Bantam and its dependencies]'. It would therefore be advisable to arrange for a supply from Bantam in lieu of buying Malabar pepper; though the latter may be used (for want of the former), if shot among the goods in the hold and not allowed to take up any

[1] 'Wale' is an old English word for a ridge of threads in a cloth. 'Dimity' and 'diaper' are well-known terms.

other room in the ship. Cinnamon, if good, large, and clean, and priced from 4*d.* to 8*d.* per lb. (or a little higher), may be purchased and sent home ; it should be wrapped in leather skins and placed between decks. In making up the calico bales, the best cotton wool and dutties should be used, as the difference in cost will be covered by the better yield in England. Many of the goods recently received were damaged by oil having leaked upon them ; in future no oil should be shipped, except for use on board. A subscription has been started for a Third Voyage, and they hope to send out two ships, and possibly a pinnace, in December next. These will be ordered to make first for the Comoro Islands (arriving there in June, 1631) to meet the *William* and *Blessing*, which should be sent thither (by way of Mauritius) after their return from Persia. The whole fleet will then proceed to Gombroon, land their goods, take in fresh cargoes, and go to Surat, where it is hoped they will meet the *James* returning from Bantam. The new ships will next make a voyage to Persia ; and in the meantime the *James*, *William*, and *Blessing* should be dispatched to England. On the return of the others from Persia, the pinnace is to go to Bantam, while the two ships will proceed to Mauritius and the Comoros to join the new fleet from England. These dispositions should be kept secret, to prevent their becoming known to the Portuguese. 'We have susteined much wrong, besides trouble, by the unjust corses of our people in their private trading, which (it seemeth) custome and universality hath nowe made naturall unto them and in their corrupt judgements lawfull too, notwithstanding all promises, bondes, and ties from them unto us and all our orders, comandes, and comissions unto them to the contrarie. . . . We have likewise seriouslie considered of our excessive charges in divers of our factories, by mainteyning superfluous and insufficient factors and dependants, which the manner of our trading (nowe especially by severall Viages) requireth to be reformed. In consideracion of both the premisses we doe hereby require theis persons hereunder named to make their retourne and repaire home for England in our first convenient shipping from thence,' viz. Messrs. Wylde, Skibbow, Clement, Page, John Webb, Richard Predys, John Calse, Thomas Wilbourne [Wilbraham], George Turner, and John Blew. And understanding that there are divers employed there without the

Company's knowledge, they order home all except the following: Messrs. Boothby, Barber, Suffield, Glascock, Cartwright, Fremlen, Rand, Mundy, Blackden, Dunscomb, John Willoughby, Woolley, Thomas Smith, Joyce, Robert Davison, the two bakers, Thomas Aldworth, Nathaniel Wyche, John Norris, Henry Graves, William Price, and Nathaniel Mountney. Have sent in the present fleet (besides Mr. Rastell): Joseph Hopkinson (at 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum); James Bickford (100*l.*); Thomas Robinson (80*l.*); John Bangham (50*l.*); John Yard (30*l.*); Henry Quarles (at 10*l.* the first year and 20*l.* afterwards); John Drake (20*l.*); John Glanvill (20*l.*); William Clark (30*l.*); and John Spiller, 'a youth whome you are to put to schoole and educate for the bringing of him up in your house.' If Robinson be not required at Surat, he should be sent to Bantam to be made second at Macassar; also Clark, who is then to be steward at Bantam. Rastell is to be paid yearly at Surat 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for his expenses and other occasions; the rest are only to receive there one-third of their salaries. In future no man or boy is to be taken ashore into any factory who has not been entertained by the Company. In case of need, pursers, pursers' mates, or other ships' officers may be engaged, but in that event the Company must be informed by the next ship and their approval obtained. John Redding and George Edwards to be sent home. A case of fowling-pieces to be transmitted to Bantam. A proportion of their stock may be invested in Indian goods for Persia, to be returned in silk. The silk brought from thence in the *Hart* as private trade ought to have been seized; inquiry should now be made for the names of the owners, and, if the silk has been sent home, other commodities should be seized in lieu thereof. All goods to be weighed and registered. In the event of Rastell dying on his way to India, Wylde is to remain as President until further orders. *PS.*—After the coming away of the ships of the First Voyage, all the commodities and good debts remaining on account of that Voyage are to be valued and taken over for the Second Voyage, the amount being remitted by bills of exchange at 7*s.* the rial of eight, to be paid at six months after sight. Any dead stock, such as houses, cattle, stores, &c., belonging to the First Voyage should be valued and taken over in a similar manner, to be paid for in London at 5*s.* the rial of eight. The like

course is to be followed in transferring goods, etc., from the Second Voyage to the Third. (*Corrected draft.* 27½ *pp.*)[1]

Private Instructions from the Company to Thomas Rastell, March 9, 1630 (*Letter Books*, vol i. p. 65).

Although they have written to recall certain factors from Surat, he is at liberty to retain any of them except Wylde, Skibbow, Page, and Clement. Predys should be allowed to remain (unless found unfit), but should be privately admonished and required to disclose to the Company his own and other persons' private trade. Rastell is urged to use boldly the power bestowed upon him to restrain the commanders and their subordinates from private trading and from wasting victuals; if necessary, examples should be made of the chief offenders. Give him and his Council full authority to do what is requisite to secure a reformation in these particulars. None of the servants or attendants of the sea commanders should be taken on shore. (*Draft.* 2½ *pp.*)

The Company to certain Merchants at Surat [March, 1630] (*Ibid.*, p. 68).[2]

Acknowledge their 'letters of salutacions' brought by Captain Kerridge, and fully reciprocate the 'large expression of your love and hearty desire that the good corespondence and comerce of trade which hath bin longe betwixt us may bee still contynued and maynteyned'. Will always be ready to requite their favours. Regret that their desire for the reappointment of Kerridge cannot be gratified, 'in regard his longe absence from his country and freinds doe challenge for a tyme his aboade with them'; but have sent 'another able and worthy gent', Captain Thomas Rastell, 'whom wee desire you to respect for our sakes and to give him creditt and countenance.' Engage to confirm any agreements made by him. (*Draft or copy. Endorsed*: '*To be writ in a faire sheete of royall paper, with some smale garnishing of gold in the margent.*' 1 *p.*)

[1] In *Factory Records: Celebes*, vol. i, will be found a copy of a further postscript, dated March 11, 1630, dealing with affairs at Macassar.

[2] Compare the letter from Mīrzā Mahmūd printed at p. 325 of the previous volume.

THE PRESIDENT AND FACTORS AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 1, 1630 (*O.C.* 1291).[1]

Represent the mutinous and contentious conduct of Richard Boothby. 'Wee humbly beeseech you not to look into the outward appearance of his person, words, or writings, but the life of his accions; by the former you will take him for noe lesse then a saint, by the latter hee will appeare unto you a wolfe in sheepes clothing, a meere hipocrite, masking all his accions under colour of religion and faithfull service to Your Worshipps.' At his first coming he was taken into the Council, and had the third best chamber (heretofore the minister's), a horse at command, and other civil courtesies. His employment was to follow the customhouse business and keep the cash, in order to ease Mr. Page, who was very sickly; but, conceiving himself to have been a better man in England than the latter, he quickly fell into open enmity with him. After the President had tried in vain to reconcile them, Boothby was appointed to succeed West as Chief at Baroda; this employment, however, he refused [for a time] to accept, questioning the power of the President to dispose of him against his will. Instances of his idleness and contumacious behaviour. Before he had been fifteen days at Baroda, he went without leave to Ahmadābād and thence to Sarkhej, to the great hindrance of the Company's business. On May 22, 1629, 'Signor Adam,'[2] the Dutch principal at Ahmadābād, started from Surat for that place, whereupon the President sent an express thither, warning Mountney to watch whether the Dutch intended to buy indigo. Boothby's arrival at Sarkhej sent up the price of that commodity; and the Dutch, thinking he had been deputed to invest, bought a large quantity, with the result that the English were forced likewise to secure what they needed at the high prices then ruling. Afterwards, returning from Baroda to Surat, Boothby set their authority at nought, reviled the President, and behaved so badly that he was commanded to his chamber. Next day he was called to account by the Council, when he persisted in his outrageous behaviour, accusing the President of plotting against his life. This being a business of great conse-

[1] Wrongly dated 1629. In addition to Wylde, Skibbow, and Page, the following signed this paper: Barber, Clement, Norris, Suffield, Glascock, Rand, Smith, Woolley, and Mundy.

[2] Adam Verhoeve (see the previous volume, p. 191).

quence, Barber and Norris were called down to assist in Council. Wylde caused His Majesty's Commission to be read, as also the consultation of April 13, 1628, appointing him President, and then demanded whether those present were satisfied of his power to act as he had done. They answered in the affirmative; but he insisted on resigning his place and authority to the Council until such time as he should be either cleared or convicted of the alleged conspiracy. Thereupon Boothby's Banyan creditors, fearing that his cause was lost, brought in bills for 19,297½ mahmūdīs, and desired satisfaction. The Council, to avoid disgrace to the nation and Boothby's perpetual imprisonment as an insolvent, decided to take these debts upon the Company's account, hoping to discharge them out of his means at home or the security given by him. As no clear account could be got from him, his books and papers were seized. From these it appeared that he had sent goods to England in the *Hart* to the value of 4,432 mahmūdīs, and some to Bantam in the *Jonas*. In order to prevent similar embarrassments in future, they have agreed in writing with the authorities and merchants of Surat that no money shall be lent or credit given to any Englishman without the consent of the President, or one or more of the Council, except at the entire risk of the creditor. This will greatly assist in preventing private trade, the greater part of which has been based on credit. Boothby's command of money was due to his making the natives believe that he was a member of the Company, had an adventure of 1,000*l.*, and was permitted to trade for what he liked. His braggart demeanour also induced them to build upon his future greatness. Inveigh against his hypocrisy and 'his condition, salamander-like, never quiett butt in the fire of contention'. Importance of making an example of such insubordination, which upsets all their endeavours for the Company's good; they have therefore decided to send Boothby home 'to bee by you more severely chastised'. 'Itt wilbe needfull you strengthen our authoritie; and to better enable us to a juditiall proceed in this kind wee pray you to send us a statute booke to direct us to a leagall course in all occacions that may happen.' At a consultation held on October 26 [1629], Captain Weddell being present, Boothby wrote asking that the sea commanders should be allowed to read his previous letters and then judge 'whether hee had not sufficiently

submitted and suffered for his offence'. Though this was in some measure a wrong to their authority, the President and Council agreed to the proposal; and after fully examining the documents the commanders were desired to give their verdict. They refused, however, to do so, unless the President and Council would remit the case wholly to their decision; yet, being pressed, they admitted that they found Boothby's proceedings so deserving chastisement that they could not even mediate in his behalf. Narrate the attempts made to put his affairs in order, for the purpose of securing his creditors. Boothby himself was sent to Persia upon the *Jonas*, but the factors there refused to entertain him. His perverse disposition 'hath soe wearied even your almost as stubborne seamen that they doe all intreate to bee rid of him'. (*Endorsed as received by the* Charles. 14 *pp.*)

CLEMENT DUNSCOMB AT SURAT TO EDWARD SHERBORNE, SECRETARY TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 10, 1630 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 79).

Has had good health since his departure from England, though their lodging and diet here are very different from at home. Is now employed at the customhouse under Mr. Predys, or in transcribing letters for England. His wages (being but 20*l.* per annum) are insufficient to keep him in apparel; trusts that, with Sherborne's help, they may be augmented by the Company, as otherwise he will be obliged to come home. Encloses a letter for his brother George. *PS.*—Their minister, Mr. Friday, died after the writer's arrival; Mr. Fuller supplies his place to general satisfaction. Begs Sherborne to send him two gold caps of about 20*s.* price, for which he will return either money or goods, as desired. (*Received April* 7, 1631. 1 *p.*)

GEORGE WILLOUGHBY, MATTHEW DUKE, JOHN HUNTER, WILLIAM MATTHEW, THOMAS GROVE, JOHN BURNS, AND PHILIP BEARDEN ABOARD THE *STAR*[1] [AT THE CAPE] TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 12, 1630 (*O.C.* 1305).

Wrote last on January 10, in sight of Teneriffe, by the *Anne* of London, bound for Guinea, giving notice that the leak of the

[1] Left the Downs on December 13, 1629 (*O.C.* 1512). For consultations held on board see p. 362 of the last volume.

Star did not any way increase. Arrived here on April 7, having lost only one man, Richard Haines. Had intended to go straight to St. Augustine or Johanna, but were forced to put in here for want of water. Have had 'freindly correspondence' with the natives, but could not procure provisions for want of brass. Called at 'Conny [Dassen] Island', where they caught store of conies. No English letters were found, but a Dutch packet was opened, which proved to contain letters left by Mr. Allnutt [1] and the ships *Hart*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell*; transcripts are sent herewith. From the Dutch letters they understand that 'Jaques Spex is General at Battavia,[2] and that Peter Vanderbrook, commander of nine shipps, departed from Battavia the 18th of December, 1629, arrived heere 17th February following, and departed from hence the 25th dicto.' Opened the letter addressed to Specx, in hopes of finding news about English ships, but were disappointed; so made up the packet afresh and reburied it where they found it, with a friendly note explaining matters. The *Star* is tight and well-conditioned. They intend to depart on the 12th for the Coast of Coromandel. (*Copy. Received by the* London *on August* 15. 1 *p.*)

Protest by Richard Boothby against the President and Council of Surat and other Servants of the Company in India [April, 1630] (*O.C.* 1303).

'In the name or behalfe of God Almighty, the Kings Royall Majestie, and the Honourable Company,' he requires the reformation of the following abuses. In the first place, the Lord's Day should be observed as well in the afternoon as in the forenoon, and no excessive feasting and drinking allowed. Prayers should be read on week-days, not only in the morning but also at night ('a thinge hetherto not practized'). Drunkenness, at present too common, should be restrained; also the 'multitude of sacrilidgious abhominable oaths' which are so frequent in most men's mouths, and are imitated by 'the heathen people who have learned to stamer a little English'. 'The beastly sinn of whoredome and most polluted filthy talke, the dayly comon discourse at meales

[1] Master of the *Speedwell*, which returned to England from Bantam in 1629.

[2] Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen died in September, 1629, and was succeeded by Jacques Specx, who held the office till September, 1632.

and ellswhere,' should be given up. Excess in gaming, wherein some men have lost 'at dice or lance knight[1] at cardes' three years' salary at a sitting, should be forbidden. 'Morosity, enviinge, maliciousnes, and crwell tirannicall userpation . . . by superiours used over their inferiours' should be replaced by 'all myld and gentle affection'. A 'faire carriadge' should be held in managing the Company's business, and 'no underhand, indirecte, ledger-demaine plotts and trickes' used for the enrichment of individuals. Money should only be borrowed with the consent of the Council, and then not at excessive rates. Similarly, the sale or purchase of goods should be managed in Council, and no factor, broker, or shroff should be allowed to have an interest therein. No presents should be accepted, or gifts made, without the knowledge of the Council; and they should be duly brought to account. The granting of passes to country vessels should be regulated. The Company's ships should not be pestered with freight goods as the result of bribery. By reducing household expenses, 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year might be saved. The accounts and letters to and from the Company should be accessible to all their servants, unless orders have been issued to the contrary. The excess of private trade calls for reformation; according to some of the chief factors in Persia this year's trade of that nature could not be less than 30,000*l.*, irrespective of the returns, and this must damage the Company to at least 2,000*l.* That the loss could easily be prevented is shown by the fact that Boothby (though he had been so great an adventurer in the First and Second Joint Stocks) was forced to pay freight and customs on his small adventure of less than 100*l.*, though others were allowed to send up to 2,000*l.* in the same fleet without such payments. The Company's business should not be confined to certain 'base Banian brokers and zarofes [shroffs] . . . of whome it is comonly spoken that they be Presidente and Cownsell and governe the Companies affaires at their pleasure . . . and who of nothinge, beinge poore and beggerly fellowes, have in shorte time raysed themselves to greate wealth and riches.' The private monopolizing of trade should be prevented. There should ben o 'stealinge gold and silver custome free out of the Europian fleett', to the hazard of the Company's treasure. The inveigling of persons from the Com-

[1] Lansquenet, an old card game of German origin.

pany's service should be stopped. Those who have been guilty of private trade should be forced to pay freight and customs as in Boothby's own case. In view of the shortage of factors, he requires the President and Council to reinstate him in the Company's service, promising to endeavour to make satisfaction for past errors and to do his best for his employers; also that the edict procured from the Governor of Surat, forbidding credit to be given to private Englishmen, be recalled, as derogatory to 'the pristine and antiente fame' of the nation. Protests that the royal proclamation, solemnly published on board the ships, has been contemned by the President and Council themselves, and only put into force against those who have given them offence. Exhorts them to reform the above-mentioned abuses, summoning them otherwise to answer before the just laws of the English nation. All the Company's servants who have aided or abetted the smuggling of money from last year's or this year's fleet, or have heard of this or other acts prejudicial to the Company, are warned to reveal the same publicly to the President and Council before the ships' departure, or to write the same to the Company by this fleet. *PS.*—This protest was intended to be published immediately after the return of the fleet from Persia, but being advised by friends not to do so, lest he should be kept in irons all the voyage home, Boothby showed it on March 27, 1630, to Captain Weddell, desiring 'that no hard durance might be imposed uppon me, beinge a brother of the worthy East India Society'. Weddell advised him to forbear action for a few days, as he hoped to accommodate matters between the President and Boothby. Nothing, however, has come of this, and so he has resolved to make his protest. '*Si pereo, pereo.*' (*Copy. Injured by damp. 7 pp.*)

BILL OF LADING OF THE *CHARLES*, APRIL 12, 1630 (*Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv. no. 13).

Laden at Surat for England on account of the New Stock: 106 bales of Persian silk and two bales of broadcloth; also six cloths to be sold to the mariners in the voyage. The freight is referred to the Company. (1 *p.*)

INVENTORY OF THE CARGO OF THE *CHARLES* (*Ibid.*, no. 14).

The list of goods includes 400 bales of calico, 596 churls [*see the* 1618–21 *volume*, p. 60] of Ahmadābād indigo, 697 long churls of saltpetre, 150 bales of Persian silk, 400 long churls of Agra sugar, 30 jars of preserved ginger, 20 bales of gum-lac, 166 bales of cotton yarn, 22 bales of cotton wool, 11 bales of Persian galls, 8 of Agra spikenard, 2,018 bags of pepper, etc. (1 *p.*)

PRESIDENT WYLDE AND MESSRS. SKIBBOW, PAGE, BARBER, PREDYS, SUFFIELD, MOUNTNEY, AND NORRIS AT 'SUALY MAREENE'[1] TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 13, 1630 (*O.C.* 1306).

Refer to previous advices of December 24 [1628] and April 11 [1629], and send a transcript of the latter. Received the Court's general letter of March 31 [1629] on October 10 by the *Charles*, and their 'particular' by the *Discovery*, *Reformation*, and *Samuel*, with the goods and money expressed in the invoice. These letters they now proceed to answer, clause by clause. Rejoiced to learn the safe arrival of the *Palsgrave, Dolphin*, *Discovery*, and *William*. Condole with the Company on the loss of the *Morris* and the death of President Hawley. Are right sorry for the damage caused to the *Palsgrave's* goods in suppressing the fire. It was satisfactory to learn that the bale of 'petolaes'[2] missing from the *Blessing's* cargo had been discovered; they trust it has now been sent to Bantam. Cannot conjecture what has become of the other bale of baftas, unless it has been mistaken for a bale of Dholka dutties which Daniel White, purser of the *Mary*, is supposed to have purloined. He delivered one short of the number received from the *Blessing*, and did the same with a bale of blue baftas belonging to 'Herivassee [Hari Vaisya], one of our best friends in this place'. For the latter they have paid the owner the prime cost, plus 20 per cent. profit. Of gum-lac they send but little upon these ships, fearing that the amount forwarded last year was larger than was wanted. The last fleet carried home a greater quantity of Agra indigo than had been sent for many years; this time they have not provided any, 'our ingagements att interest exceeding our hopes of supplies.' As for Sarkhej indigo, they have endeavoured

[1] See the previous volume, p. 202.

[2] A variety of silk piece-goods.

to bring down its price, 'yett cannott effect itt soe long as the Moore merchants buy such large quantities for Persia as they have donne of late yeares, and Banians &c. ingrosse itt att first making to resell againe unto us, the Dutch, and Portugalls.' They refrained from buying until there was a risk of their not getting any at all; then they took 1,000 fardles, 'the choice and principallest of the last yeares growth; which noe sooner knowne to the Dutch but they bought upward of 2,000 fardles and all the remainder; that when, after the *Charles* etcs. arrivall, wee would have bought other 500 fardles, there was nott any left, except 400 and odd fardles of course and base stuffe of four yeares standing; which alsoe the Portugalls have since bought, and nott left one bale of that comodity in Amadavad. The want of raines these three passed yeares hath been alsoe greate cause of itts improving in price; halfe the quantitie scarcely made of what usually in former times. This yeare giveth hopes of a greater aboundance; yett, fearing the Dutches etcs. seisure thereon, having moneys in cash, wee have enordered 2,000 fardles thereof to bee now provided for the New Stockes account att first breaking itts price.' Have also provided Fremlen with funds for the purchase of 500 fardles of Agra indigo for the same account. These two lots will cost nearly 25,000*l.* 'The remainder of 35,000*l.* landed from the Persian cargazoone will nott keepe all our linnen investments on foote without a farther ingagement att interest; whereunto wee have resolved, by consultacion held the 24th December, to the summe of 25 or 30,000*l.* more, in expectation that the same adventurers will second their begune good intentions.' 'The Dutches large investments in these comodities this last year, together with their great desire of ingrossing all, induced us att this time to runne another course and secure you in season, vallewing ourselves of the occacion and their want of meanes, their large provicions for the southwards having exhausted all their monies and strecht them alsoe uppon the tenters att interest. Their proceed in this and all other comodities in our apprehencions tendes to noe other end then to beate you from this trade alsoe; elce would they appeare to bee noe other then mad men, to runne such preposterous courses in all their accions. And doubtlesse itt is a plott from their pollitick masters, whose goods otherwise they would

shame to fling away in that manner they doe, both in raising the prices of all comodities transported beyond reason or common apprehencion, as underselling those they import wherein you are interessed. And into noe lesse inconvenienceis doe they runne themselves, and us alsoe if wee would follow them, by giving way to new and unwonted abuses and incroachment of this Governour in customhouse; which if they would withstand, as wee have donne, might bee easily remedied; growing once to a custome will ever bee such.' Trust the Company will be satisfied that the increase in the cost of goods has not been due to carelessness on their part, but to the causes mentioned. The unrefined saltpetre laden in the *Palsgrave* was sent for a trial; none was dispatched by the last ships, and none will be sent by these. In both fleets, however, they have laden a greater quantity than heretofore of refined saltpetre. 'This comoditie hath this yeare cost us much trouble, being prohibited transportacion by order from the King, uppon false information from this Governour against ours and the Dutches proceeds in Musulapatam, but espetially theirs.[1] Both hath suffered equall discontents; though itts lycense (as are all other graunts) first given to us. Some bribes and extraordinary expence itt hath cost to worke itts release, and more wee doubt itt will require to regaine our former freedome for buying that comoditie.' The 'callicoes' sent, both last year and this, are mostly 'the lower sortments', and were chiefly bought in Broach, Baroda, and Surat. Have done little in this direction of late at Ahmadābād, in consequence partly of the Company's complaints of the badness of the cloth provided there. Last year they bargained for some bloodstones at 7 rupees the best sort per thousand and 4 rupees for the second quality; but, finding them on receipt far inferior to the samples, they abated 1¼ and 1 rupee respectively. Would have bought some more this year, but could not agree on the price, nor can they procure them as well cut as desired, unless they raise the price. Will do their best to procure a supply; but 'these being made in Cambaia will not bee soe well ordered as when wee had a residency in that place'. Regret that the previous consignment of sugar was not approved; it was of the best that this country affords, and bought at good rates. That

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 298.

parcel was procured at Ahmadābād; the consignment on the last ships came from Agra, and will, they hope, give satisfaction. They now have 768 bales, containing 3,028 maunds 36 seers, also bought at Agra; this they will keep back, if they can get sufficient other goods for England, and will send it to Persia, where it will be in good demand. Will refrain from purchasing sugar, as also aloes, until further order. No green ginger was sent last year, as it was both bad and dear; but they have now laden 60 jars, 'provided with more then ordinary care.' Of cotton yarn they on the last occasion procured a larger quantity than the ships could carry, with the result that 395 bales were left behind. Had they known it would have found so good a market, they would have made room for it by taking out the dry ginger and other coarse goods of less value; but the great quantity sent in the *Palsgrave* etc. made them doubt whether there would be much sale for a fresh stock. 'Unto these wee have added other 205 bales, provided in this place, and that with noe small discontent to the merchants thereof. In Barroch [Broach] and Brodera [Baroda], espetially in the former, wee may nott buy any at all. Uppon the last investment in that place the weavours grew into a mutiny, and combined amongst themselves not to bring any baftaes to our house untill wee gave them a writing not to buy any more cotton yarne; nor have they to this day. You may nott therefore expect such great quantities as required or heretofore sent you, for except in this place (and here alsoe by stealth doe wee in a manner gett itt into our house) itt is not to bee had.' 'Our great ingagements in the usurers books prevented our feare of landing your goods or monies, had there beene cause for itt; but the country is in peace and quiettnes, and the King in Brampore [Burhānpur], intending a warre against the Deccannees.' 'You shall doe well to continew your resolves for sending noe more jewells, except rare and ritch pearles, wherein the King taketh most delight. Other sortes hee doth nott esteeme, nor indeed of any thing, if not very curious, substantiall, and ritch. Of the best cloth of gold received per the *Mary* hee hath often required; but espetially fine scarlett of an excellent colour, with some of the finest violett colour cloth.' Have done their best to stop the thefts committed from the bales of calico on their way

down; but it is difficult to detect the real offenders, 'for the goods from Amadavad and Cambaya doe commonly change carts att Barroch, and all att arrivall here or Ranneile [Rānder], from whence they are transported to Sually Mareene, before when wee seldome find the dammage.' Nor are the sailors free from suspicion, for even at Swally Sands bales have been opened or even stolen altogether. 'Itt would bee a matter of more difficultie to advise you the names of such as are not private traders then of those that are. All in generall may bee said to doe something more or lesse. Every man would live. But to advertise uppon certaine truthes and warrantable grounds what quantities of goods any particular man putts aboard your shipps is to us, that sitt soe farre of from the lading place, impossible. To informe uppon jealousies [i. e. suspicions] or secondary intelligence may as soone wronge you as the parties by false information. This office more properly belongs to your pursers, without whose knowledge nothing of bulke ought to bee received in hold. Wee have both the last and present yeare indeavoured itts prevencion by our strict edicts, severe fines, and punishment threatned against offenders in that kind; yett will itt nott prevaille. Wee have alsoe given unto your merchants of the Mareene order to take notice of these things and to advise; and they have answered they dare nott doe itt, fearing uppon the least suspicion of prying into this abuse a stabb or brace of bulletts in their breasts—ordinary threats from your incivill seamen; insomuch as noe man willingly will imbrace the imployment, for the best words and tearmes they gett, even from the cheife and principall of them, is the base informer. And wee have laboured to avoide these inconvenienceis by setting a man in customhouse to take notice, but will not bee permitted, the Governour reaping a benefitt thereby. Wee alsoe caused a writing to bee drawne in Persian and Banians language,[1] firmed by both nations, wherein wee did declare that whatsoever Moore or Banian did lend to any of your servants, merchants or seamen, any moneys or goods uppon trust, without the aprobacion of the President or two of Councell, should runne the hazard of such debt, what accident soever should happen, without forcing satisfaction, either by complaint to the Governour of this cittie or your President, but

[1] Cf. p. 14.

should attend the parties pleasure for repayment, without imprisonment or other legall courses to bee taken against him. This wee have published both in this cittie and att the Mareene, that all men may take notice thereof; and which wee are perswaded hath and will hinder the excesse of private trade in noe small measure; for the greatest confluence thereof grew from the much credditt these people gave yours, as well land as seamen.' This action was taken in consequence of the excessive private trading of Richard Boothby, as related hereafter. Trust that the Company will believe they have done their best in this direction, 'considering that, if itt be nott possible for yourselves att home to hinder the great quantitie of quicksilver, broadcloth, lead, etc., yearly brought out to your great and apparant dammage, how much lesse possible itt is for us to deale with your unruly seamen or to proceed with any severitie against them, being favoured by the Governour and Customers, to whome they bring so much proffitt.' Refer to Kerridge for the answers to the Court's queries concerning the pepper bought from the Bantam ships. They dealt with the pursers, without inquiring the names of the owners; and they did not demand any freight for it because they had no precedent and could not tell what to demand. Presume that the Court has exacted payment at home. The reason why the *Exchange* was not sent back to Bantam was that her return was not requested by the President and Council of that place. Will not neglect that or any other factory if they have means of supply. 'Wee take notice of your absolute order for cessation from all investments appertaining to the Old Joint Stock, and accordingly doe send you the accounts of all the severall factories perfected . . . this factory excepted . . . that soe you may see what remanes you have in the country and knowe how farre wee stand ingaged att interest uppon that account; which wee hope will by you be taken into consideracion, and sattisfaccion provided for before a finall dissolucion be determined. Wee have small incouragement to any plantation in these parts[1]; nor is itt our opinion itt may bee attempted without apparant losse and hinderance to your other designes. Wee shall therefore cease prosecuting any enterprize of this kind untill wee have your warrant and order for the same.' Are not sure that

[1] See the introduction to the previous volume, p. xxi.

they understand the directions regarding the division of charges between the two stocks; but they have charged the old account with half the cost of the Surat and Ahmadābād factories (these being still engaged on work for both stocks), and one-third of the cost of those at Broach and Agra, as the factory at Broach commenced work for the new stock at the beginning of December and that at Agra from the end of the same month. 'Wee shall rejoice to here of a new subscripcion uppon another Joynt Stock, and not for particular Voyages, which in our opinion cannott bee safely performed if the comon enemie increase his forces uppon this coast, as is much feared.' 'For baftaes of all sorts, either Baroch, Brodera, or this place, as well as the long narrows and dutties made in Amadavad, wee shall follow your order and direccions, these sent the last year and now uppon these shipps being all or the greater part of the lowest and cheapest priced cloth we could gett, and all bought att the best times and seasons, with so much circumspeccion and care as wee hope will give you content. Of neccannees, hussannees, and populees wee sent you the last yeare 4,000 peeces; the like quantitie are laden uppon these shipps, provided th'one halfe in Baroch and the other in Brodera, for your better experience whether prove the best cloth.' 'Wee have long since agreed for a farre larger parcell of sallooes, guldares, girdles, etc., then heretofore, intending to have made a second tryall in the Red Sea this yeare; but that voyage altered,' and so they have sent these goods home. Trust they will find a sale for Turkey or Poland. Send also, as desired, eight bales of spikenard, provided in Agra. A similar parcel was forwarded by the previous fleet; no more will be bought until further order. The *Exchange* etc. carried home a large quantity of excellent cinnamon, taken by Capt. Slade in a Portuguese prize. None has now been sent, as the price is at present very high. Have returned upon these ships all unnecessary factors and assistants, according to order; enclose a list of those that remain, with their salaries and duties. Landed, as directed, 35,000*l.* from the Persia cargo in gold, silver, and cloth. 'But your direccions for imploying 3 or 4,000*l.* in oyle, etc., for Persia wee have not observed; nor was itt possible to bee performed, for of this wee can very hardly gett in this place soe much as will supply your shipps yearly expence. Itt is alsoe a comoditie that must

ly below and under other goods, which being in jarres cannott indure any great weight, and laid aloft would spoile all other goods, being subject to leake, either by defect of jarrs or eaten by the vermine, and soe cause more dammage then the comoditie is worth. Other, as cotton wooll, rice, and tobacco, doe many times (as you say) yeild two, three, or four for one; but besides there extraordinary dearnes this year, 1,000*l.* in either comoditie, espetially in cotton wooll, would have filled upp all your four shipps, and soe great quantitie have scarse yeilded the mony itt cost after a yeares time. In these cumbersome comodities your seamen have beene accustomed to fill upp your shipps that they have not been able to take in any other goods. This wee indeavoured to prevent the last yeare by severe acts published against those that put any aboard; yett would they nott prevaile, as since wee have understood. Wee did therefore soe worke with this Governour this yeare that during the lading your shipps for Persia noe tobacco, cotton wooll, or rice was suffered to passe the customhouse; and the *Jonah* and *Charles* alone made allmost as much freight as the six the last yeare, and neere treble former yeares freight uppon many more shipps.' Upon his petition, Thomas Turner has been permitted to continue in his place until the *Jonas* reaches England, when he doubts not to give the Company satisfaction. Do not know of any gamesters or dicers now remaining in the factories; if they meet with any such, they will send them home, as ordered. Having now answered all the needful clauses in the letters received, they will 'with the oxe chewe the cudd, and runne over againe some particulars'. First, as regards the cloth landed from the Persia cargo. 'The generall want of that comoditie, and the King by sundry firmaens to this Governour requiring 6,000 coveds to supply his wants, uppon his much importunitie wee perswaded Mr. Heynes to lande some of his cargazoone here to give the King and th' other content.' Agreed with the Governor for 3,000 'covetts', at 11 rupees for stammels, 7 for reds, and 6½ for greens etc. per 'coved'. Paid the ships their full value in specie; 'soe as that cargazoone was not att all lessened of itts first content in England.' After the departure of the ships the Governor returned a large quantity of the cloth, on account of its being rotten or spotted, 'and all in generall soe course and ill drest cloth that wee admired to see him take any of

itt, espetially having seene the Dutches cloth of the same colours and prices, excelling yours in goodnes and well dressing above the one halfe. The like alsoe were there ordinary stammells in respect of ours; but espetially some rich stammells, sould him for ruppees 15 the coved, which from our hands hee should not have had for 25. Soe well dyed and drest they were that, but for the finesse [*sic*] of the cloth, might bee compared to scarlett wee bought att ruppees 50 to present him etc. Soe farre doth their cloth exceed yours; yett shamefully by them undervallewed in price. Your forbearing to send any these two yeares hath not only caused to yourselves a great hinderance and losse, but alsoe made way to them for landing of greater quantities then heretofore; and if continued will bring yours into disgrace, for these people looke more into the colour then the finesse of the cloth. Of these you may boldly send yearely 200; of fine stammells 100 or 120; of redds 60; and the rest sad and light greenes; with so many kersies and perpetuanoes, sorted 60 or 70 redds and 30 or 40 greenes, having a spetiall care to the dressing and colours. . . . You may bee confident of sale for the above mencioned number att good rates, if you canne prevent the marriners etc. from bringing any, as they have this and every yeare, and now sold them att the waterside to more then ordinary beneffitt, and that soe privately that wee have not beene able to meete with them, nottwithstanding wee have endeavoured itt, to have had some for presents and our own expence, the Governour keeping all that came from Bantam, without sparing us one covett. Such secrett passages doe they finde to prevent our watchfull eyes that itt is not possible for us to discover them; the like for other comodities.' 'The last year wee advised how earnest the King was for some of the best scarlett and finest violett colour cloth, and wee desired you would bee pleased to supply us therewith, as wee doe now againe, uppon his so much importunitie that hee seemes to thinke that wee neglect him, because hee is not provided; and this Governour hath given ruppees 60 per coved for verry ordinary scarlett, proferring to give any price for that is excellent fine and of a rich deepe colour. Soe doth hee presse us for rich cloth of gold, such as was your best sent uppon the *Mary*, invoiced att 10*l.* the yard, promising to give itts due worth for itt. Some things of this kind you must send out yearly to give

the King etc. amrawes,[1] our Governour, and merchants content, and worke peaceable and quiett passage to your affaires ; and which cannot without many and greater inconvenienceis bee avoyded. Without presents nothing canne bee donne with these people. Generall custome amongst themselves makes itt a law to us ; whoe to comply in this kind have beene inforced to buy from others many things att most deare and heavy rates.' 'Wee have beene heretofore of the same mind Your Worships are now, to send noe goods to the court or from this place ; but experience telleth us wee must not bring any tofa,[2] rarities, cloth of gold, tapistry, or other the like, except wee will let the King have the choice and first sight. For uppon refusing to send Sir Francis Cranes tapistry[3] to his derbarre [*darbār*] att this Governours intreatie, hee not only tooke it perforce but would have inforced us alsoe to send up one of your servants therewith to Brampore [Burhānpur] ; which denying . . . wee were willing to passe by many affrontive and abusive tearmes publikly given us by this Governour, with many threates of discontent, insomuch as in the end wee were glad to condescend that Jadoa [Jādū], your ancient court broker, should accompany itt to the Kings derbarre and there present itt, if liked, att the prices sett.' In the end only two of the best suits were sent. 'Some unwonted rubbs wee have already mett withall in the passage of your bussines, and many more and greater inconvenienceis wee feare will ensue if this Governour continue in place, all occacioned through deniall to send this tapistry to the court.' If any more be sent, the Company should insist that the owner should allow it to be forwarded to the court if necessary. 'Uppon certaine notice of the enemies arrived forces this yeare from Portugall, to say, 4 galloones and 3 carrecks, other 2 galloones wanting (one said to returne from Cape de Verd and another stayd in Mosambique to repaire and mend their leaknes), and knowing assuredly of other 5 galloones preparing in Goa, wee held a generall councell aboard the *Charles* the 23th November, wherein itt was thought fitt, for their more

[1] i.e. the King and other persons of importance (*umarā*, pl. of *amīr*).

[2] Persian *tuhfa*, here meaning goods suitable for presentation.

[3] Sir Francis Crane in 1619 established some tapestry works at Mortlake under the patronage of King James. The tapestries here referred to were some which he had been allowed to send out in 1629 for sale at his own risk. References to a previous consignment of a similar character will be found in the last volume.

safety, that the *Discovery* and *Reformacion* should after returne from Persia accompany the *Charles* and *Jonah* to the Mauritius, and thence proceed to St. Augustine and the Ilands, to meete the fleete from England and joyne there forces together to come uppon this coast with full strength, the better to passe the enemie, in case hee should waylay them, as itt is conceived hee will; and soe leave the Red Sea designes, although absolutly enordered from thence; and the rather for that the warrs in Mocha have spoiled all trade, the juncks of this place returning the last yeare with the greatest part of their goods unsould, and those sould being rather losse then proffitt, insomuch these merchants would nott send any thing this season, if nott inforced to freight the Kings juncks.' 'Uppon the said forces, itt is said, the enemie brought out 3,000 souldiers with all needfull provicions of warre, intending this summer to beeleagrue Ormus, expecting other 9 shipps yearely, by promise from the King of Spaigne, with a resolucion to expell us and Dutch out of these seas. Att returne of our shipps from Persia was expected an encounter uppon this coast, but wee see they attend a greater strength, nott daring to cope with us uppon equall tearmes. Yett did 12 frigatts the 6th December past attempt the firing the *Wesopp* of the Dutches, with 24 pieces ordinance, and your barke *Samuell*, riding att the rivers mouth. Eight fell uppon the former and four uppon the latter. The Dutch fired in two places, yett extinguished, bravely defended themselves, burnt two, and sunck another of the friggatts. But the *Samuells* master improvidently laying a traine, expecting they would have boarded her, fired and blewe himselfe and all his people overboard, lamentably burnt and spoiled; himselfe and 15 more saved by the Dutch; other so many perished or taken prisonners; the vessell, with one of the frigatts, burnt; and lost in her 100 baggs of rice, besides the hull and her provicions. Yett was she full laden with Moores goods for Persia, and att their intreatie sent downe to convoy their juncks into Sually Roade; unto which wee would not condescend without they would runne the hazard of their goods, as they did, and were contented with their ill fortunes as well as wee. In this broyle our barges tooke two frigatts, merchantmen bound for Cambaia, laden with beetle and paddy of little or noe vallew; and the Dutch tooke another with the said comodities, which they restored forthwith to

their owners. Wee kept ours above a month, untill the often importunitie of the Governor wrought our restitution rather then to displease him for soe small a matter that could displease us in so many greater. The *Jonah* etc., passing alongst the coast in her way to Bantam, surprized a Mallabar junck laden in this place, tooke all from them, and carried away the junck, which by the way in a storme sunck in the sea, as Captain Swanley reporteth [*see the previous volume*, p. 331. The owners of this junck and goods came hether to require restitution; but wee made a long deniall (alleadging their King did owe us monies and they alsoe did take our people wheresoever they mett them) untill the Governour would seeme to force itt from us or would complaine to the King that wee robd and spoyld the traders to his port. The goods amounted to m[ahmūdī]s 24,000 and upward, as dispacht in customhouse (abstract whereof we send you), besides their junck and men carried to Bantam, where Capt. Swanly delivered to that President and Councell goods vallewed by them butt in m[ahmūdī]s 3,886; which wee offered to returne unto their owners, with some farther allowance beecause the goods are underrated one third part att least, butt would not bee accepted; insomuch as wee were content in the end to allow them m[ahmūdī]s 11,250 rather then such complaints should appeare before the Kinge. Hereby alsoe you may perceive how just and honest your seamen are in accions of this kind, notwithstanding in all our commissions wee doe threaten restitution from them; which Your Worships shall justly exact and make them pay out of their wages for example sake, to make others more observant. In these cases wee allow them one sixth part, if lawfull prize; and of this unlawfull they have brought scarce one sixth to your account; which is quite contrary, and in our judgments they deserve to pay well for itt. These pilfering surprizalls doe the nation and your accion more wronge then any other thing whatsoever, and which wee labour to avoyd; butt such is the preying disposition of your seamen that all is fish that commeth to nett; bee itt right or wronge, soe they have itt, they care not how itt came there.' Gunpowder supplied to the Dutch, to be paid for in Europe. Estates of Hugh Simcoe, cooper of the *Blessing*, and James Dover, steward of the *Jonas*. The biscuit brought by the *Jonas* from England was very bad and great part of it had to be thrown away. 'By a junck

of this place wee received a letter from Mr. Best etc. in Aden in October last.[1] . . . Wee have laboured there release, both by our owne and this Governours and merchants letters to the Governour of Aden, but receive[d] noe answer. Wee have againe sent others by the same junck, and appointed the nochada [*nākhudā*, master] to pay them 25 ryalls of eight to releive their wants and, if [they] shall have libertie given them, to disburse to 100 ryalls more, if need bee, to free them and bring them thence. A German to whome wee have given passage uppon our shipps for England, having lived many yeares in slavery amongst the Turkes, came lately from Aden, saith that Best might have had his libertie, but would nott come away without his vessell. Others report hee careth not for comming thence; however, wee cannott beleive either, or think him soe stupid and obstinate to refuse libertie that hath suffered so much misery, and whereof by his letter hee seemeth to bee enough sensible. Occacion offerring that wee vissitt those parts with an able force, wee shall drawe him off by faire or foule meanes, if not released before.' Recoveries to be made from Joseph Hopkinson. Overweight in coral sold last year. That received by the *Charles*, though it cost more in Italy, is not regarded here as equal to the previous consignment, but it was 'vallewed in customhouse (by the injust proceeds of this Governour) in allmost treble itts prime cost; as hee doth shamefully overrate all thinges elce in a more injurious manner then his predecessours. To this wee have noe present remedy, though wee expect it by his removall, which (is said) is or wilbe shortly enordered'. Send a copy of the customhouse valuation of the coral. By this it will be seen that the sort called 'recaduti'[2] of 8*s.* or 9*s.* the lb., yields most benefit; the small sort now sent, called 'tiraglia brutura', is not so much in demand. A hundred chests of coral will sell yearly, viz. fifty of from 2*s.* to 8*s.* the lb. and fifty of from 8*s.* to 15*s.* 'Our old and accustomed merchant, Virge Vorah, durst not meddle with this parcell now sent, fearing this Governours pretence to joyne with him in that and all other comodities might insnare him to his abuse'; but they have

[1] For the seizure of the *Scout* at Aden and the imprisonment of the master (Nathaniel Best) and crew, see the introduction to the previous volume.

[2] Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., has kindly ascertained that this term means 'dead coral', and that 'tiraglia brutura' signifies the rough growths and crusts that form on the plant.

now sold it to their 'sheraffe' [shroff], at 35 per cent. under the customhouse valuation. It will yield 6,041*l.* 14*s.*, of which 2,230*l.* 10*s.* is profit. This will go towards the reduction of the debts on account of the Old Stock. A list of those debts is enclosed for information. The lead has been sold, at 7 mahmūdīs per maund, to the Governor for the use of the King. One thousand pigs of lead will vend yearly. Hearing that there was a good deal of private quicksilver on board the ships, they instructed Mr. Mountney at Ahmadābād to endeavour to strike a bargain at once for the Company's consignment. This he managed to effect at 100 rupees per maund, and the quicksilver was immediately dispatched under the charge of Willoughby and others. Before it arrived the merchants had repented of their bargain (but could not fly from it), on hearing that the Dutch had a similar quantity, 'and amongst private men, in smaller parcels, more then both yours and Dutches together, att least 500 maens; which hath soe fallen itts price that the Dutch have offered theirs for 85 rps. per maen, and is refused.' Of this commodity 600 or 700 maunds would sell yearly, if private trade could be prevented. Have failed to discover the names of the owners of that brought in the ships; but the pursers seem to be the chief offenders. Heard of one parcel belonging to the late Robert Tottle, and demanded the same from Messrs. Heynes and Tozier, the two overseers of his will; but Heynes refused to deliver it, 'as exempted from our jurisdiction.' However, the quicksilver was seized by the Governor, who would have confiscated it; and 'to avoyde an ill custome, never yet practised, wee were inforced to take itt into your house and pretend itt belonged to you.' The proceeds have been brought to account. The rough amber was sold at Ahmadābād for 10 rupees per seer. A greater quantity would produce good profit, if well chosen of a clear yellow, without white and other rubbish. With the help of the rials they managed to put off the gold this year with less trouble than before. It has somewhat improved in value, and they hope that in a year or two it will return to its former esteem. Meanwhile only a third, or at most a half, of the treasure sent should be in gold; 'and of that as few ingotts as may bee, for, besides the trouble is more in their putting off, wee doe nott finde them to hold out in finesse [fineness] with their touch here; soe as there is rather losse by them then any

proffitt, which yett the other speties doe affoard, although little.' 'Your factours provicions are yearly shortned, both in goodnes and quantitie, without any paper fitt for your bookes of account. Of these we are inforced to buy att treble their cost in England, to supply needfull occacions. Itt is a matter of small import, yett requires your consideracion, as things most necessarie.' Sale of the goods brought from Bantam by the *Jonas*. Except some sandal-wood belonging to this consignment, and the refuse cloth on the New Stock's account, they have nothing left to sell. 'Our project against Damon and Diu is growne cold ; wee doubt through sinister informacions of this Governour, inclined more to the Portugall then to us, as wee gather by some passages betweene them. Yett is the King now in Brampore, and [it is] said hee will fall uppon the Rajaes of Mullier and Abnagar,[1] bordering uppon Damon ; whoe, although they pay him yearely tribute and acknowledgement of homage, were never truly subdued, nor will surrender their fortresses or castles into the Kings hands, as hee hath required. These brought into subjeccion, itt is likely hee will bee doing with the Portugalls contry about Damon or Bassein, though the cittie and cittadell of Damon ittselfe bee not pregnable without forces by sea, to keepe them from succor and releife. Others say hee will fall into Decan, pretending a conquest of that country ; which is likeliest. Soe soone as the raines are past, wee shall see what are his intents. His owne country is in peace and quiettnes, and for ought wee understand likely soe to continue, having pollitickly wrought his owne securitie by cutting off all the bloud royall, without leaving any butt his owne sonnes that canne lay claime to his crowne ; and then impovrishing his amrawes or nobles by taking from them all their treasure and livings, allowing noe more then will maintaine them barely in an ordinary state.' A fine of 10,000 mahmūdīs imposed upon Gregory Clement 'for sundry his misdemeanours, etc., in Amadavad and Agra' ; if it be thought that they have been too severe upon him, restitution may be made in England, as he goes home by these ships. 'The excessive charge and expence attending the goods provided in Agra, together with their inconvenient transport hither to bee laden in season, hath made us oftentimes of opinion to dissolve that factory. Yea, itt

[1] Mulher (Bāglān) and Ahmadnagar.

hath almost as often beene determined; yett ever found (as now) new meanes obliging itts continuance, you requiring still one third part of that indicoe in proporcion of the other of Surquez. Wee have againe resolved therefore itts resettling by sending John Willoughby and Crispin Blagden thether to assist therein, not knowing att there departure hence of the Kings removall and comming soe neare unto us; in whose darbarre wee find itt alsoe very needfull to keepe a residency, espetially in time of this our Governour, whoe, quite contrary to our expectacions, proves our strong enemy. Wee have therefore recalled John Willoughby from Agra to attend att the court, as the fittest man in respect of his language, and to take charge of the two suites tapistry of Sir Francis Cranes, which had you excused and not sent would have saved you more then itts worth, and avoyded such trouble as hitherto wee have nott past in this place since our arrivall in India. Richard Wilde, having craved lycense of Your Worships to returne for England by severall his particulars by the *Palsgrave* and *William*, whereunto your silence argueth consent, his time being expired, small or noe incouragement from you to a longer stay, and little or noe bussines here requiring itt, but espetially uppon the discontentive affronts received from this Governour about Sir Francis Cranes tapistry, hath confirmed his resolucion to take his passage uppon these shipps.' He carries with him all necessary accounts, and will give the Company full information about the state of affairs. George Page returns in this fleet, according to order, 'of whose sufficiency and honest demeanour in your service you may happily bee better sattisfied then hitherto. Soe alsoe doth Thomas Smith, our Secratary, whose carefull dilligence in the orderly keeping your registries hath noe paralell. On him Your Worships may bee pleased to cast your favourable aspects, as the ablest and fittest for your imployment that ever came or shall come into India. His small meanes att present, together with his desire to make himselfe better knowne unto Your Worships, is the greatest cause moving him to crave lycense to repaire to his country, which wee have graunted. Thomas Aldworth, an ancient servant, returneth alsoe uppon these shipps. Although his abillities seeme not capable of any prime place, yett hath hee honestly and carefully discharged the place of assistant in

sundry your factories and passage of caphilaes,[1] wherein his language hath much improved him. Mr. Fuller, minister uppon the *Charles*, wee tooke on shore att first arivall of your shipps, with intent to have kept him here with us, to both our and his comfort; but himselfe being not very willing to stay, and notice given us that itt was not your desires hee should bee left on shore, although one of his quallitie were verry necessary amongst us, yett may wee not expect one of better government and worthier abillities of mind, him wee have lycensed againe to returne. If noe other sent out before his arrivall and hee willing to come back, as wee conceive hee will bee, wee are bold to intreate Your Worships in his behalfe, his doctrine and life soe exemplary inviting us thereunto, as wee doubt of his like to our content.' Divers others return; and unless some are sent to fill their places next season, it will be necessary to take men from the ships. A list of those remaining is enclosed, 'whereby you will perceive noe more to bee left then meere necessitie requires; and all those honest, able, and well governed men, sufficient to undergoe their charge and imployment. Our broker wee sent (as advised in our last) to Sindee [*see the previous volume*, p. 326] to bring musters [patterns: Port. *mostra*] of every severall comoditie made in that place, is at last againe returned after much trouble and danger uppon the way, having been deteined upward of 8 months, by reason of warrs and diffirenceis betweene the Rajaes through whose country hee was to passe. Two bales indicoe, with sundry musters of white cloth, wee send you uppon these shipps; if they shalbe found usefull in England and beneficiall to recompence the expence and charge of settling a factory in that place, Your Worships may determine and wee shall endeavour itts performance. Unto Bantam alsoe wee send uppon the Dutch shipps others of tapuchindes, cannikeens, and blew byrames; and others, many of diffirent sortments (as will appeare by abstract sent you), wee reserve for to send the next season for Persia; that uppon advice of their esteeme and vallew in those parts you may bee incouraged or discouraged to your farther proceed on this accion. There is noe doubt butt the King will graunt your lycense thereunto, Asaph Chaune having oftentimes demaunded of our

[1] Arabic *qāfila*, a caravan. The term was also used for a fleet of light vessels carrying merchandize.

people why wee did nott keepe a residency there alsoe, which argueth a consent may bee easily obtained.[1] The Portugalls sitting there is the greatest obstacle that may dishearten you from itts prosecution : yett in our opinion may facily [facilely, i. e. easily] bee putt by, although wee are assured the King of Spaigne hath made large graunts and priveledges unto the new Company lately erected[2], as you will perceive by coppies of letters taken by the Dutch in one of their frigatts when they fired the *Samuell*; and the Vice-King now come hath sollicited this Governour to mediate with the King his master to expell both the Dutch and us from hence and other partes in his kingdome, promising to settle their people here in Surratt and to bring and cause as much trade as both our nations doe, and withall give free libertie to their owne juncks to passe and trade into all parts wheresoever they will[3]; with many other faire offers of assistance. What the Governour doth herein wee cannott yett advertise ; certaine wee are hee is more their friend then ours, yett firme to none, being a most falsehearted dissembling fellow as lives in India. These thinges we thought needfull your knowledge, that you may see how inconstant your accion stands att present and may bee indangered hereafter, if these motives prevaile, as wee conceive they will nott, if your forces by sea bee able to confront the enemy, who from his King and principalls hath faire promises of large succors and annuall supply of nine galloones and shipps; which they may well performe if the subscripcion bee followed as intended, att least as they make a shew; unto whose prevencion and maintenance of your trade in these seaes wilbee needfull a fleete of offence rather then defence, by a just conformitie betweene you and the Dutch, and there agreed uppon, for often experience hath taught us there is noe trusting to any act made here, farther then standeth with there owne safetie and beneffitt.' The fleet returned from Persia, in company with the Dutch, on March 17, 1630. The freight from thence amounted to 36,152

[1] See *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, pp. 96, 331, 427, etc.

[2] The Company formed, under royal auspices, to carry on Portuguese trade with the East was founded in 1630. It was a complete failure, and was extinguished by a royal decree in April, 1633.

[3] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 298. The Governor is there said to have replied that the trade was free to all and he could not therefore exclude the Dutch and English.

mahmūdīs 13 pice, of which one-half was detained at Gombroon on account of the New Stock. The Dutch refused to lade any goods on freight. It is for the Company to decide whether the division is a just one; but they trust some arrangement will be made to secure in future 'a more faire correspondency' between the factors of the two stocks. 'Why the two shipps of the New Stock made noe more freight from hence Mr. Heines will or can give a reason; as also why so many of your rialls of eight are come back from thence, as well by English as Moores and Armenians, etc., upward of 50,000 ryalls, all new, and the greater part in your owne baggs, number and seales, as from England, as our brokers and sheraffs doe informe us to have seene past in customhouse. Your Worships may therefore spare the charge of strengthning the chests with iron hoopes for there more safe transport to Spahan, whether by generall report doe verry few of your rialls arrive in the same kinde you doe send them. With your shipps came sundry juncks laden with goods and passengers, whereof two were surprized att the barrs mouth by the Portugall frigatts, in and att the time of a messenger sent from the Viceroy of Goa being in this place treating with this Governour to mediate with the King his master to expell us and Dutch. . . . Uppon newes whereof, the Governour surprized the said messenger, with other 15 or 16 attendants and 3 Jesuitts, and advised the King of these proceeds, as all other Governours within his dominions to doe the like and seise on all their estate, as hee hath done, in a caphila lately arrived in Cambaia. How the King will resent these affronts, one of the juncks being his owne, wee daily expect. In all appearance a great breach is like to insue. This King, being soe neare att hand and so powerfull an army about him, may happily (as is likely) bee induced to fall uppon the country of the Portugalls about Diu and Damon; and this Governour hath written to him to send his firmaen to us, to assure us that hee will give us the same quarter the Shaw Abasse gave our people att takeing Ormus, if wee will promise to assist him this next yeare with our sea forces. The like, wee understand, hee hath required for the Dutch, soe to bee sure of one or both; and wee conceive, by conference, the latter willing to intertaine any faire agreement.[1]

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 298. It is there stated that the Dutch replied that they could not make any engagement without a previous reference to Batavia.

For our parts, being incertaine what forces Your Worships will send the next yeare, have given noe farther incouragements then that if wee have strength sufficient to encounter the enemy, wee wilbee ready to affoard him our best services, promising that your President going now home would sollicite Your Worships to the farthering this enterprize, soe beneficiall and commodious unto you (if [it] take effect, as in all likelihood itt will) as noe course in our opinions whatsoever can bee taken to ruine the insulting enemie and open a free trade into these parts as the beateing him from his houlds hee hath on this coast. If you shall nott approve the motion and second itt by a strong supply of sea forces, itt is likely the Dutch will, and soe capitulate as may exempt us out of the contract, and in the end worke us out of all; whereunto all their accions have hitherto intended'. If the King demands the help of the English and they refuse, he will either accept the aid of the Dutch or make terms with the Portuguese. 'On either depends the downefall of your trade, which yett may flourish more then ever, his mynd inclyning rather to have our ayd then the Dutches, and either or both rather then to indure so many insolenceis from his braving enemie.' Great preparations made by the Portuguese. 'A warre both dangerous and doubtfull wilbee by them attempted uppon our and Dutch shipps, without all prevencion, if not from the highest powers, whose providence blesse and protect yours from their hellish projects by fireworkes, in this narrow hole hardly to bee avoyded (if discreetly ordered, as should wee, were their case ours); and put by this place, wee have not any other to frind uppon all this coast for our releife, even of water only.' From Persia they received some silk, rhubarb, wormseed, galls, and 'ruhanas' [*rūnās*, madder]; also three horses. The first four they reimbaled and placed on board these ships, as also 106 bales of silk on account of the New Stock, the freight for which is to be decided in England. The rūnās was full of dirt and stones, and the horses were bad, though double the number of choice ones were sold or given to private individuals, in spite of the fact that the Agent had promised to provide some specially good ones for the King. 'How wee shall answer this neglect, wee well know not. Att this time they would have become your action well to passe, hee (being in the warrs) having given commaund that all whatsoever came uppon

our or Dutch shipps should bee bought and sent unto him; whereon this Governour hath stayd 30 brought by the Dutch to goe for Battavia.' A further recovery of 100 rupees to be made from Mr. Hopkinson. The Persia accounts have not come this year, owing to the death of Robert Wodder and the absence of Agent Burt. The warning from Surat to look more closely into the proceedings in the customhouse has resulted in trebling the Company's proportion; but it is still a mystery why the receipts scarcely equal the freight of the English ships alone. From two to four thousand bags for pepper have been provided each year. Have often complained of their non-return from the ships; but such is the malice of the seamen that, because they cannot keep them as heretofore, they rip them up and render them unserviceable. Have threatened to hold the pursers responsible, but found this ineffectual. Now send a list of what is missing from each ship, in order that some recovery may be made at home. Each bag costs 1½ mahmūdīs, and ought to last two years, if not three. A similar saving might be made in the case of provisions, were the stewards good husbands. Of the eight men of the *Samuel* captured by the Portuguese, three died of their burns, and the rest were set at liberty by the Viceroy. Three were released at Damān and have returned to Surat; their names are James Wood, Richard Copp, and William Redstone. The other two are supposed to have gone to Goa in the frigates. In requital six Portuguese prisoners have been released. Have also written to thank the commander of the frigates for his intercession, promising a like courtesy in the case of future captures. 'The Vice-King seeming to bee a noble gentleman gives us hopes of a faire correspondency, wherein wee shall not bee wanting; though wee are assured hee will give us much trouble the next and following yeares, if not suppressed.' Have just unexpectedly procured 216,550 red cornelian beads. 'The Portugalls and Dutch buy great store, yett are nott soe curious as are wee in theire choice, which is cause they attaine to larger proporcions.' Have delivered 2,400 long red beads to the pursers of these two ships (besides a quantity to those of the New Stock) for barter at St. Augustine's. This is their usual practice; but apparently those not used are not made over to the ships coming out, for these often pay ten times as much as they need for cattle, etc., bought there.

This should be reformed. Their general letter will acquaint the Company with Richard Boothby's irregular proceedings and mutinous and contemptuous demeanour, and will account for his return. Contrary to a consultation held on March 18, Capt. Weddell has taken in 106 bales of silk belonging to the New Stock, leaving out 318 bales of cotton yarn belonging to the Old. Of these 113 have been laden on the *Discovery* and *Reformation*, with the idea that by the time the fleet reaches Mauritius there will be room enough in the *Charles* and *Jonas* (through the expenditure of provisions) to take them in; the remaining 205 will be housed at Rānder till next season. 'By consultacion held att the Marreene the 12th Aprill, 1630, John Skibbowe by gennerall consent was elected to the succession of this Presedency, and Richard Wyld, late President, established commaunder of the *Charles* etc., as by commission given him will appeare. Although wee know Capt. Weddell will nott submitt (as did not Capt. Browne unto Mr. Kirridge, that had the like [1]), yett are wee persuaded there will not bee any difference betweene them, Richard Wyld being willing (for his quiett) to yeild and give way to the other in all thinges that shall nott too much derogate from his repute and esteeme. This authoritie would bee by you taken into consideracion, and a constante course settled for a more peaceable and quiett correspondency between your seamen and merchants. Your other factories were alsoe reestablished and settled, as per the said consultacion.' Mr. Fuller has now been persuaded to remain; they trust this will be approved. 'Unto Messulapatam have wee remitted 1,000 pagodes, payable to your people there by the Dutch for m[ahmūdī]s 8,100 paid there principall here; your factory of Armagon languishing for want of meanes, even to provide them food and sustenance, untill their expected releife from Bantam arrive.' Transcripts enclosed of letters received from those parts. 'Being att the Mareene att dispatch of your shipps. . . . Richard Boothby presented unto us a protest (as he tearmes, butt indeed is rather a railing, injurious, and scandalous pamphlett), which, in regard of our many negotiations and latenes of the season calling for your shipps

[1] In 1628: see pp. 277, 295 of the previous volume. These disputes led to an order by the Company that no merchant returning from the Indies should assume the title of commander of the ship in which he embarked (*Court Minutes*, Feb. 16, 1631).

dispeed, wee have forborne to answer, butt have referred the contents unto Your Worships view.' Reiterate their complaints of Boothby's conduct. Broadcloth and baftas supplied to the ships to provide clothing for the sailors. Refer the Court to Richard Wylde for information on any point forgotten in this letter. *PS.* (*April* 14)[1]—' Wee cannott butt accompany Richard Wylde, your late Presidentt in these partts, with commends (soe justly merrited) of his greatt care and judgementt in managing your action, nott by us to bee silenced, having been eye witnesses of his judicially uprightt and industrious proceeds therin.' Are confident the Court 'will recompence soe high and worthy desertts in their dew tyme'. He has duly made over to them the Company's stock, 'is free from all accompts, and nott culpable of the least neglectt or indirect carriage of your businesse.' Aspersions to the contrary should not be credited. (20½ *pp.*)

NICHOLAS SHARP'S ACCOUNT OF THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE OF THE *CHARLES* (*Marine Records*, vol. liii. p. 25).

1630, *April* 12. Came out of Swally Hole, accompanied by the *Jonas, Discovery*, and *Reformation*. *April* 13. 'Presedent Wiles [Wylde] came abord.' *April* 14. 'Mr. Wiles surrendered up his authoritie unto Master Skibo.' The fleet sailed for Mauritius. *April* 25. The Dutch parted company. *June* 2. Sighted Rodriguez. *June* 4. Anchored at Mauritius, where they procured plenty of provisions, etc. 'A finner iland cannot be in the world for refreshing.' *June* 5. Moved to a better anchorage. *June* 19. Embarked the crews. Seeing two fires made ashore at night, and no one being missing, a boat was sent to discover the cause. 'When they came somewhat ner, they saw men (to ther thinking) run to and againe with firebrands in ther hands; and the nerer they rowed to them the farrdor they were of. They maid a noys lik whisling. Thos in the barg crid and hollowed to them, but had no answer. So we think they were devels, or els men which the Flemings have left ther and are disstracted; which may be verye like.' Sailed for St. Augustine's Bay. *June* 20. Saw 'the iland which we call

[1] This is in a different hand, and is signed by Skibbow, Barber, Suffield, Mountney, and Norris.

Charles Iland'.[1] The *Jonas* lost company. *June* 26. Madagascar sighted. *July* 2. Anchored at St. Augustine's. *July* 4. The *Jonas* came in, leaking badly; but the leak was found and stopped. *July* 13. The *Discovery* and *Reformation* sailed for Johanna, to stay there for the new fleet. *July* 14. The fleet from England arrived, and landed their sick men; 'but haveing no orugings and lemons wear not recoveried, but somthing better then they weare. Here they had as much fresh vittalls as they would, and caried away all ther waysts full of beves.' *July* 27. The new fleet departed for Johanna. The natives at St. Augustine's traded freely. 'We saw non of ther weomen this first mounth being ther; but afterwards, seing we offered them no wrong, they came to us into the woods and wear as fammiler as the men.[2] And after some five weekes being here, we had great stor of lemons and oringes brought us every other day, howle pros full[3]; which att first we had for a rund bead apeece, and afterwards we had them for long beads, 12, 16, 20 for one bead. The people, both men and weomen, are well favored; and they will trad for nothing but for read beads. Our Captaine had half a scour of them abord, and ther Captains name being Ander Pilow, which he clad from top to toe, sword and belt hanging about his neck; but the next day, some of our men being att his towne, he sould all away for one string of beads; which sheweth ther littell esteame of cloths. . . . The beves we had all this whill for 7, 8, and 10 or 12 beads apeece the best, and sheep and goots for 2 and 3 apeece. If ther had bene ships that had neded a thousand head of cattell thes three mounths they might have bene suplied.' *September* 25. The *Charles's* long boat was sunk in a storm. *October* 1. Sailed. *October* 21. Saw the African coast. *October* 23. Got into Table Bay, where they found some Dutch letters. *November* 5. Two Dutch ships, bound for Batavia, came in, 'haveing stor of Inglish sholgers, weomen, and maids.' *November* 17. Departed. The Dutch sailed at the same time. Before their arrival the English had obtained some cattle and sheep from the blacks; but

[1] Styled later 'John de Castro' and 'Mascareenhas' (Réunion: see the last volume, p. 263).

[2] A little later Sharp says: 'Our Captaine [Weddell] haith a dixonarie of all ther common words; but we brought into England 3 or 4 of ther black boys, by whome the Companye may make a book mor perfect.'

[3] i.e. 'whole prows [Malay *prāū*, a boat] full.'

on seeing the Dutch they all drove away their cattle, 'becaus the Flemings use for to bind some of them fast til the rest have fecht them vittals.' (*The MS. ends here.* 17 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT[1] (*O.C.* 1359).

1630, *April* 14. The fleet sailed, accompanied by six Dutch ships (named) bound for Batavia. *April* 25. The Dutch left them. *June* 5. Anchored at Mauritius, where they found letters from Captains Hall and Evans. [*June* 19.] Departed. *June* 20. Next morning they saw an island 'called by the Portugalls Dn [*sic*] Mascareenhas'. Lost company of the fleet. *July* 1. Sprang a great leak. *July* 4. Got into St. Augustine's Bay, where they found their consorts. *July* 8. The leak stopped. *July* 13. The *Discovery* and *Reformation* sailed for Johanna. *July* 14. The fleet from England arrived under the command of President Rastell. *July* 27. They departed again. *October* 1. Sailed. 'The people of this place wee found very affable and courteous.' Provisions were cheap. *October* 21. Saw 'the land of Cape Falso'. *October* [23]. Anchored in 'Soldania' Bay, where they found letters left by the Dutch and perceived by names engraved on the stones the arrival and departure of the *London* under George Muschamp. *November* 5. Two Dutch ships, the *Flushing* and *Der Veer*, arrived from Middelburg, bound to Batavia. *November* 17. Sailed. *December* 4. Anchored at St. Helena. *December* 6. The skiff sank, and two men were drowned. 1631, *January* 16. The leak broke out again, but was stopped two days later. *January* 20. Sailed. *February* 17. Sprang another leak. *March* 17. Saw, as they supposed, Fayal [in the Azores]. *March* 22. Lost company of the *Charles* in a storm. *March* 31. Resolved to make for Kinsale, in Ireland. *April* 2. The wind changed, and so they resumed their former course. *April* 4. Saw Scilly, and heard from some boatmen of the peace with Spain. *April* 5. Stood along the shore. (2 *pp.*)

[1] The writer's name is not given, but he was evidently on board the *Jonas*. A further account, by Nicholas Prin, will be found in vol. liii of the *Marine Records*. It adds nothing of importance.

JOHN VIAN'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE CRUISE TO THE COMORO ISLANDS (*Marine Records*, vol. lii. p. 31).

1630, *April* 3. The *Jonas* was fully laden for Europe. *April* 12. The *Charles* and *Jonas* went over the bar. *April* 13. The *Discovery* and *Reformation* followed. *April* 14. All four ships sailed, together with six Dutch ships bound for Batavia. *April* 25. The Dutch parted company. *May* 6. Henry Edgword, a midshipman, fell overboard and was drowned. *June* 4. Anchored at Mauritius. *June* 5. Moved to Turtle Bay, where they obtained provisions, wood, and water. *June* 19. The fleet sailed. *June* 20. Saw the island 'John de Castro' [*cf.* p. 42]. Lost sight of the *Jonas*. *June* 26. Saw the coast of Madagascar. *June* 27. Passed Cape St. Sebastian, the southernmost point of the island. *July* 2. Anchored in St. Augustine's Bay. *July* 4. The *Jonas* arrived. Bought cattle for six or eight beads apiece, and sheep for four or five; also fowls and oranges. *July* 13. The *Discovery* and *Reformation* sailed for the Comoro Islands. *July* 14. The fleet from England, consisting of the *James*, *William*, and *Blessing*, arrived at St. Augustine's. *July* 19. Passed Juan de Nova. *July* 24. Anchored off Johanna. During their stay they obtained a good store of provisions in exchange for money and Surat cotton goods, and sent letters to the islands of Mohilla and Mayotta. *August* 7. The fleet from England arrived with 'Captain' Rastell, 'President of Endie, both sea and land.' *August* 23. The whole fleet sailed for Surat. *September* 21. Sighted the coast of India. *September* 22. Saw 25 Portuguese frigates near Surat Bar. *September* 23. Fired at the enemy, but could not get near enough to do much damage. The Portuguese went into Swally Hole, where their fireboats were riding. The English anchored near Swally Bar. *September* 24. Captured a fireboat with two Portuguese and seven 'blacks'. The prisoners confessed that it had been arranged to fire the English ships, but that the project had failed owing to the admiral not giving the signal agreed upon. The Portuguese had four fireboats of 15 tons each, specially built for this purpose, besides smaller vessels provided with fireworks. Their frigates numbered thirty, manned by forty soldiers apiece. They did what they could to hinder the

[1] He was the master of the *Discovery*.

English from landing or embarking, but without much effect. *September* 24. Messrs. Skibbow, Barber, and Mundy came aboard the *James*. *September* 25. President Rastell went ashore, accompanied by Messrs. Hopkinson, Bickford, and Bangham. The Portuguese tried to intercept them, but failed. *September* 26. The fleet proceeded to sea, leaving the enemy in Swally Hole. *September* 28. They were off Damān, where they stayed, according to order, until October 5. On the first three days of the month they were troubled by the enemy, and on the 4th an attempt was made to attack the *Reformation*, but the assailants retreated on the English opening fire. By the next morning the Portuguese had disappeared. *October* 5. The fleet sailed to meet the Dutch at a place agreed upon. Chased two vessels, one a Malabar junk of 150 tons and the other a small Portuguese ship. The latter escaped, and the former beat off the *Discovery's* boat, wounding six of the men. *October* 7. Reached their destination, which was 12 or 13 leagues off Bassein. 'Met two small boats full of pour pepooll that cam from Cambay bound for the Decans countrye, by reasonn of the exstream famyne in Cambay and all the Mogolls countrye. We let them pase cleare, seing ther was no Portingalls in them.' *October* 11. Set sail for Swally again, nothing having been seen of the Dutch. *October* 14. Anchored in Swally Hole. (19½ *pp.*)

GEORGE MARRIOT'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF MORTON'S FLEET TO SURAT (*Marine Records*, vol. lv. p. 1).

1630, *March* 1. Sailed from Gravesend. *March* 6. Anchored in the Downs. *March* 15. Departed. *March* 17. A storm forced them to return to the Downs. *March* 19. Sailed again. *March* 21. Lost sight of the Lizard. *March* 29. Spoke six Dutch ships, who professed to be bound for the West Indies, but seemed to be really 'rovers in the see'. *April* 12. Passed the Canaries. *May* 20. Reached the island of 'Trinadado',[2] which has at the western end 'a high pinickell like Cheryn Crosse' and at the eastern extremity two round hummocks. Anchored under the western end. 'Wee

[1] He was a master's mate on board the *William*. For another account, by Andrew Warden of the *Blessing*, see vol. lvi of the same series.

[2] The small volcanic island of Trinidad in the South Atlantic, 700 miles from Brazil. For earlier visits by the Company's ships see the volume for 1618–21, p. 271.

had good wallter and great storr of fresh fishe and fowle.' *May* 25. Departed. *June* 21. Saw the Cape 'Bonesprance' [Good Hope]. *July* 13. Sighted Madagascar. *July* 14. Anchored in St. Augustine's Bay. *July* 27. Sailed again. *August* 7. Anchored in Johanna Road, where they found the *Discovery* and the *Reformation*. *August* 23. The fleet sailed. Edward Parker had deserted. *September* 21. Saw the coast of India. *September* 22. Anchored at night two leagues short of Swally Bar, watched by thirty Portuguese frigates. *September* 23. Anchored off Swally. The frigates went into Swally Hole. *September* 24. The frigates anchored near the fleet, but were driven further away by the ordnance of the ships. A boat was captured, containing two Portuguese and seven natives. President Skibbow came aboard. *September* 25. Rastell and Skibbow landed. *September* 26. The fleet sailed to look for the *Shāhī*. *September* 30. Captured three vessels, one laden with timber, the other two carrying provisions to the Portuguese squadron. *October* 5. Having waited in vain for the *Shāhī*, the fleet sailed to meet the Dutch. *October* 7. Reached the rendezvous appointed. *October* 11. The time being expired, the ships weighed anchor for Swally. *October* 14. They reached Swally Hole. (20 *pp.*)

PHILIP BEARDEN, PURSER OF THE *STAR*, TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 19, 1630 (*O.C.* 1307).

Wrote last from the Cape on April 12. Has now met the *London*, '40 leagues att sea,' and therefore sends another note. All the company exceedingly healthful. Richard Haines, surgeon's mate, died January 31, leaving an estate of 3*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* The ship is tight and well conditioned. Advised in his last of all private trade, and will continue to do so. 'Our merchants are generally proude, but especially Mr. George Willoughby and Mr. Duke, who are att odds dayly.' Good order kept in the ship, and no extraordinary drinking or feasting. (*Received by the* London. 1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES* AT ST. AUGUSTINE'S, JULY 21, 1630 (*O.C.* 1308).

The fleet having reached this road, and met with the *Charles* and *Jonas* bound for England, it is thought a good opportunity to debate the advisability of proceeding direct to Persia. The

reasons in favour of this course are: 1. The forces of the enemy are not likely to be found there so early. 2. The Company's estate destined for that place would thereby be well secured. 3. Four or five months would be gained for procuring silk, which by the Company's orders is to be at the port by August. 4. The Dutch would be forestalled, both in sales and investments. 5. The ships, being thus disburthened, would be more fit to encounter the Portuguese. 6. They would also be able to take in a greater quantity of goods at Surat for Persia. 7. Advice could be sent overland to the Company at an early date. 8. The President [Rastell] would be able to ascertain personally the state of affairs in those parts. On the other hand: 1. It might be difficult to procure camels to carry up the goods, and they could not safely be left at Gombroon. 2. Unfavourable winds might prevent them from joining the Dutch on the coast of India on October 10, as agreed upon with them; and in that case they might find the Portuguese in possession of the port at Swally. Resolved therefore to leave this place on July 26, to stay not more than three days at the Comoros, and then (with the *Discovery* and *Reformation*) 'to proceed according as further advice and the conveniencie of our passage shall direct us'. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

THOMAS RASTELL IN ST. AUGUSTINE'S BAY TO THE COMPANY, JULY 26, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*,[1] vol. i. p. 1).

[*First portion missing.*] The quarrels between Messrs. Wylde, Boothby, Page, and Clement have been left to the Company to determine. [*Part illegible.*] Goods to be sent to Persia. Trusts that the Company will take steps to reduce the debt at Surat, not only by sending money for that purpose but also by the dispatch of ships to carry spices from Bantam thither. The overtures by the Portuguese to the Great Mogul for the expulsion of the English need not be feared; such proposals have been often made, and as often rejected. [*Part missing.*] Doubts the advisability of the English combining with the natives for an attack on the

[1] Of this and the other Bombay records calendared in the present volume a modern transcript will be found in the India Office series of Factory Records (*Surat*, vol. lxxxiv. part ii).

Portuguese possessions; but possibly it might be worth while, as the Emperor is so near as Burhānpur, for Rastell to go thither 'with His Majesties letters of England', to treat with him on this subject and also for 'the establishing of our former priviledges, with such fitting additions thereunto as the nature of your business and occasions shall appeare unto mee to require'. If it be true that, as the letters from Surat seem to intimate, the Dutch have engaged themselves in the enterprise against the Portuguese, it will be detrimental to the English to refuse their assistance. Mr. Wylde's information touching the supposed abuse among the factors in Persia in employing the Company's rials for their own purposes shall be inquired into. Captain Bickley, with the *Discovery* and *Reformation*, left this place for Johanna the evening before Rastell's arrival. They are now setting sail to join him there. Praises Captain Weddell, who in 'discrecion joynd with vallour . . . amongst all your sea [captains] . . . hath nott his fellowe'. (*Copy.* $3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

Richard Barry [Purser of the *Royal James*] at St. Augustine's Bay to the Company, July 26, 1630 (*O.C.* 1309).

Reached this place on July 14, having lost only one man, John Turner. Sends a note of provisions and stores, with remarks on their quality. Complains of the great authority given to commanders over pursers, and the difficulties experienced by the latter in doing their duty. (*Much damaged. Received by the* Charles, *April* 7, 1631. 1 *p.*)

Thomas Rastell and Matthew Morton in Swally Road to the President and Council at Surat, September 23, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 4).

Not knowing how far they may be interrupted by the Portuguese frigates, they send these lines to announce their arrival with the *James*, *William*, and *Blessing*. They left England on March 19, and met the *Charles* and *Jonas* at St. Lawrence, and the *Discovery* and *Reformation* at Johanna. Beg for information regarding the Portuguese forces: how long they have been prowling hereabouts: whether they have sunk any vessels at the entrance of Swally

Hole: and what reinforcements they expect. Should the latter be large, it may be necessary for the fleet to go to sea again, in the hope of finding the Dutch fleet at a rendezvous which Capt. Bickley suggested to them some months ago. If, however, the galleons have not yet arrived on the coast, the ships will go into Swally Hole as usual and land the treasure before departing for the said rendezvous, thence to return with fuller power to confront the enemy and give him resolute battle. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

President Rastell and John Skibbow at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet at Surat Bar, September 27, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 6).

The Governor (who has given Rastell 'a very respectfull and most extraordinary entertaynment') has suggested that, if the English ships should meet the Dutch before finding the *Shāhī*, the fleet should be divided, part returning (with some of the Dutch) to Surat to land their cargoes, and the rest remaining to convoy the *Shāhī* and other junks. This should be done, even if the Dutch refuse to allow any of their ships to remain behind to join in guarding the native vessels. Rescind also the previous decision that if the *Shāhī* were met with first, she should be taken with the English in search of the Dutch. This would not only cause great alarm to the master and passengers of the *Shāhī*, but would also give the impression that the English were entirely dependent on the assistance of the Dutch. It is therefore ordered that, after waiting a fitting time for the Dutch and they not appearing, the fleet shall come straight back to Surat, after sending the *Reformation* to the rendezvous, unless it be deemed dangerous to separate the ships. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

Consultations held aboard the *Royal James* (*O.C.* 1312 *and* 1318).

1630, *September* 28. It has been agreed by the President and Council that the fleet shall go to meet the *Shāhī* of Surat and protect her from the Portuguese, but the choice of a place in which to await her has been left to the commanders etc., who now decide to anchor between the shore and the point of the sand. *Signed by*

Matthew Morton, John Bickell [Bickley], Matthew Wills, Michael Green, John Roberts, Thomas Robinson, John Yard, and Richard Barry. (½ *p.*)

September 30. Having this morning surprised three vessels, it is decided that two, seeming to be lawful prize (having a Portuguese pass), shall be unladen and employed for prevention of fireboats. The third, which claims to belong to Surat, is to be kept in custody until the fleet returns thither. *Signed as above, with the addition of William Norris.* (1 *p.*)

October 13. Having done their best to accomplish the design on which they were sent, it is decided that, subject to the approval of the President, they shall proceed to anchor in Port Swally: that the *Discovery* shall go ahead into the road and 'ryde the northermost shipp': that the *William* shall anchor next to her, and then the *Reformation, Royal James*, and *Blessing*: and that the three country boats shall ride ahead of the last ship, to frustrate any attack by the enemy's fireboats. *Signed as before by Messrs. Morton, Bickell, Wills, Green, Norris, Roberts, Yard, Barry; also by Thomas Beaumont, Thomas Walter, John Vian, and Francis Stockton.* (1 *p.*)

President Rastell and Messrs. Skibbow, Hopkinson, Barber, Bickford, Suffield, and Norris at Surat to [George Willoughby and his Colleagues] at Masulipatam, September 29, 1630 (*O.C.* 1313).[1]

The enclosed extract from the Company's instructions will show the general power and authority conferred upon Thomas Rastell, to which their due conformity is expected. Proceed therefore to give them some directions for the present, and will send others later, when they have examined former advices from the southwards and perused 'such other informacions as wee shall expect to receive from you, when God shall bless you in saffety to those parts where the Company have appointed you cheife under us'. Account of Rastell's voyage. Fear that the lateness of the arrival of the *Star* upon the Coromandel Coast, and the division of their business in several ports, will detain the factors longer than was intended.

[1] There is another copy at Bombay (*Surat Letters Outward*, vol. i. p. 15), a transcript of which will be found in the I. O. *Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. lxxxiv. part ii. p. 11.

In that case ample advice of their proceedings should be sent to Surat, particularly information as to the sale of English goods, and (if full accounts are not available) a copy of their invoice for the southwards; also estimates of the charges at Armagon and Masulipatam on account of this Voyage and a list of goods unsold. They are further to hold a general consultation of the factors to 'consider of the aptnes of both places, Mesulapatam and Armagon, whether both or either of them alone would not suffice for the furnishing of such fitting cloaths as are propper for the supplying of Bantam, Jambee, and Macassar, towards the compassing of such an anuali proportion of pepper and cloves as now aymed at by the Company for those southerne retournes, the west coast of Sumatra being wholy relinquished for any farther trade there untill wee shall see cause to reasume that businesse againe; for unto us it is now wholy referred, and is to hold noe further relation or dependance at all, as hath beene usuall heretofore, with Bantam; wee say, whether one of those factories would not suffice, with the adition of such investments as by the Companies letters you will perceive is enordered from Surratt, and whereof [i. e. whether of] the two were the fittest.' If it be deemed necessary to maintain both factories, careful lists should be drawn up of the goods to be provided at each place, indicating also the factories for which they are intended. On arrival at Bantam these lists should be reconsidered, and any alteration that may be found necessary should be communicated to Surat by way of Masulipatam. Full particulars should at the same time be sent of any goods needed from Surat for the southern factories to enable investments to be made for 1,000 or 1,200 tons of pepper and 100 tons of cloves, 'which is the limitts unto which you are now restrayned'; also what further supplies could be utilized, to be returned to Surat in gold and cloves. No private trade of this nature to be suffered. The lists should include provision for any money that may be needed for customs and other expenses, and a return should be forwarded of what each factory is likely to spend yearly in this way. Arrangements for winding up the affairs of the Second Joint Stock at Bantam. Of the ships now arrived, the *James* will be dispatched to Bantam, carrying supplies to accomplish the lading of the *Star* for England. This notice is given in order that a return cargo for Surat may be

prepared by the time the *James* arrives. The ship should then be dispatched to the rendezvous arranged with the *William* and *Blessing* and the new fleet from England, for their joint security against the Portuguese. Request information regarding the ships of the Joint Stock remaining at Bantam, etc., with inventories and a list of any supplies needed from Surat. It would be an advantage if a small vessel could be dispatched with the *James*, laden with sugar ('now worth in Suratt Ms. 15 per maund, but at farr better prices in Persia') and spices. She would accompany the fleet to Gombroon (which the 'conjoyned forces' are to make their first port), discharge her lading there, and then, coming with the rest to Surat, take in supplies and calicoes and so return to Bantam, carrying also any letters received from England. Would be glad to learn their opinion how many and what kinds of vessels are needed for the southern factories. Desire the dispatch of frequent advices, particularly as regards the proceedings of the Dutch. 'There fleete this yeare out of Europe had as late a dispatch out of the Downes as ourselves, where they were tenn weeks wind-bound at the least, and not many weeks less in their owne ports; and being full of men were fallen into greate mortallity, even before they sett sayle out of England.' Request early advice of the quantity of pepper and sugar yearly produced at Bantam. 'Wee had thus farr proceeded in this our letter before sight or conferrence had with our freinds heere resyding; and it was the 24th present at night before wee could safely gett them aboord,' owing to the presence of the Portuguese frigates. Designs of the latter against the fleet. 'We perceave they will delaye till we are gott into the Hole of Swally; where we had long ere this resolvedly gotten in, to awaite the execution of their project, had not the generall intercession of the Governor, merchants, and whole towne ymportuned the sending out of our whole fleete againe (for to disparte them we might not) to secure their expected junck, whose loss (with the formers) would be the dounfall and absolute ruine of this place. The 25th last in the evening, with some perrill to our persons, we (the merchants only) conveyed ourselves on shoare; and the next day, after a solemne and extraordinary ceremonios reception by the Governor and these cheifes, we yeelded to their requests, and the same night dispeeded away our fleete towards the usuall landfall of theise

country joncks; and since that have beene alltogeather taken up in a reciprocall vissitts, both wee to them and they to us.' Having perused some late advices from Bantam, they will add somewhat to the reply made by the late President. They conceive that the proposed lading of the *James* with pepper belonging to the Old Stock will be equally advantageous to both Stocks. The want of factors at Bantam will probably be remedied by the arrival of the *Star*; but two will also be sent from this fleet. The *James* shall bring what ships' stores can be spared from this place, for the purpose of repairing their decayed vessels, 'the rather in respect of the greate desire we have to be furnished from thence with a small vessell fraught with suger, etc., as afore mentioned, not doubting but that the meanes now invested from the Coast, together with the 10,000*l.* sterling to be allso imployed from hence, will produce a sufficient advance over and above the *James* and *Starr* their lade-ing for the compassing of the Percian cavidall [1] soe required from you. Howbeit, if Macasser should yeild you such aboundante quantety of cloves as the greate hopes you give doe incourrage, and that there should be noe overplus at all for the effecting of our fore-said designe for Persia, we doe then disanull that order and leave you to the prosecution of that only which is enordered by the Com-pany, who though for a while (by reason of the greate clogg and base esteeme of pepper in Christendome, now sould 16*d.* and 17*d.* [i. e., per lb.] at three yeares day outright for payment) they doe restrain us to the proportion of only 1,000 or 1,200 tonns of pepper at the most by the yeare, yett doe they not confine you to any limmitt at all in cloves, to the purchasing whereof we shall not only supply you to the uttmost of such sommes as are appointed you by the Company, but even allso to the uttmost of our owne creditts, though much ingaged allready.' They must, however, be furnished with precise information as to the goods required from Surat, and the places for which they are intended. Any of the vessels of the Old Stock may be used for the furtherance of the lading of the *James* and the *Star*, 'as contrarywise in the behalfe of the Old Joynt Stock wee shall assist there occations by any shipping of these New Voyages.' 'The charge of your factories is to be borne

[1] This is apparently a form of 'capital'. It was used to denote the stock, whether of goods or money, devoted to some particular purpose.

in equall parts, according to the proportion of the summe you imploye for each stock.' Enclose the Company's orders regarding the transfer of remains from one Stock to the other. Request a list of the mariners employed on their ships; and another giving the names, etc., of all factors there. 'Of the Portugalls threatning forces this yeare . . . by what wee can yett learne, they will fall farr short of their nomber of gallyons for want of men; and yet it still holds currant that the Vice-King wilbe heere in person. The booke of subscription for a Third Voyage into India was fully compleate and finished the very day before my departure out of London, whereby to your comforts you need not doubt of another supply noe less ample the next yeare insueing then this at present, and soe annually following with more alacrity then ever; and that the rather in respect of a new contract procured with this new King of Persia, that trade being now become the maine propp of the adventurers hopes in England.' (*Copy. Endorsed as sent by way of Masulipatam to Bantam, and received there February* 11, 1631. *Received in London October* 10, *by the Dutch ships.* 9½ *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to Henry Sill and other Factors at Masulipatam, September 29, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 7).

The accompanying letter to Mr. Willoughby, which has been left open for their perusal, will give them all needful information. If the *Star* has already departed, the letter should be sent after her by means of the Dutch; but if this cannot be managed, it should be returned to Surat, with Sill's answers to the questions asked therein, in time to arrive before the fleet leaves for Persia and England. Information desired as to the cargo carried to Bantam by the *Star*, and the stock she has left on the Coast; also full accounts of the stock, 'debts, sperate and disperate,'[1] etc., of the Old Joint Stock. Inquire regarding the sale of Mr. Job Harby's coral [*see previous volume*, p. 297], and as to the demand for that commodity. Details wanted respecting the accounts and estate of Thomas Mills. The Dutch have for many years past sent one or

[1] I am informed that these quaint terms are still in use at the Bank of England to denote good and bad debts respectively.

more ships home annually direct from the Coromandel Coast; inquire whether Armagon is not as fitting for such a purpose as Masulipatam; also the kinds and quantities available of calico and of indigo (which the Dutch send regularly to Holland). The Company intend to dispatch a ship yearly to the Coast from England; but possibly some of the calicoes needed for Bantam cannot be provided at short notice, and it may be advisable, therefore, to remit money from Surat some time before the ship is expected to arrive. Inquire as to a herb called 'chay',[1] employed for dyeing; request a specimen, with particulars of price and the mode of using it. On the arrival of a ship each year (bringing a fresh stock), the accounts for the old stock should be closed and copies sent to Surat. Desire a list of all Englishmen employed on the Coast, their salaries, etc. Trust that the factors of the Joint Stock and those of the New Voyage will work amicably together. Regret the death of Mr. Duke. Would be glad to learn the joint opinion of the factors whether a settlement at Masulipatam is necessary, in addition to or in substitution for that at Armagon. The Company would gladly confine themselves to the latter, and think it would suffice if, on the arrival of shipping, certain factors were sent to Masulipatam for the time being; request their opinion on this point. Recovery from 'Rickondas' [? Rukman Dās]. He may be allowed to go to Bantam as he desires. (*Copy.* $8\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, SEPTEMBER 30, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 20).

Announce Rastell's arrival, and forward extracts from the advices brought by him, reserving detailed instructions until the situation has been fully examined. Request full particulars of the state of affairs at Ahmadābād, the prices of sugar and indigo, and what demand there is for English goods; also as to the possibility of remitting money regularly by bills of exchange from that place to Agra. No further purchases to be made on behalf of the Second Voyage. The accounts of the First Voyage should be sent to Surat as soon as possible. Direct attention to the Company's orders respecting the packing of goods. Expect hourly the arrival from

[1] Malayālam *chāyaver*, a root affording a red dye much used in S. India.

Ahmadābād of Nathaniel Mountney, with whom they will confer regarding all matters. The fleet dispatched to meet the *Shāhī*. A small Portuguese vessel captured, and a frigate destroyed. Urge the early provision of carts for bringing down their goods. Care should be taken to provide in the contract for delivery at Swally. (*Copy.* 2¾ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO WILLIAM FREMLEN AND OTHER FACTORS AT AGRA, SEPTEMBER 30, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 22).[1]

Arrival of the fleet from England. Enclose such clauses of the Company's letter as specially concern their correspondents. The homeward-bound ships will go direct from Gombroon; any letters or accounts for England should reach Surat by November 25. Request full advice of the state of affairs at Agra, and of English goods in demand there. Will shortly remit funds for another investment before the rains. The quest of the *Shāhī*, and the menacing attitude of the Portuguese. As saltpetre has very much fallen in price in England, and its transport from Agra is costly, they intend to buy merely a small quantity, and that at Ahmadābād only. On the other hand, they will require from Agra a larger stock of indigo than usual; and for this purpose they enclose a bill of exchange for 25,000 rupees, drawn upon 'Vimgee Kica [? Bhīmjī Kākā: *see* p. 82], the vakall [*wakīl*, agent] of our ancient acquaintance Vergee Vora [Vīrjī Vōra], who hath also furnished us with a letter of credit to the amount of 25,000 rupees for your further supplie uppon all occasions'. Desire the purchase of 4,000 or 5,000 maunds; assure them of a regular supply of money, and of the speedy dispatch of one or two factors to help them. Request a note of the prices of sugar and sugar candy, and of the quantities available. The news from England is slight, except that a treaty with Spain was in course of negotiation. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

[1] Printed by Mr. G. W. Forrest, C.I.E., in his *Selections rom State Papers, Bombay: Home Series*, vol. i. p. 3.

EDWARD HEYNES AND WILLIAM GIBSON AT ISPAHĀN TO [THE COMPANY], SEPTEMBER 30, 1630 (*O.C.* 1314).[1]

. . . 'The Portugall, with 10 gallions and 4 others expected from Christendome, with 150 friggotts, is expected to encounter our fleetes this yeare att Swalley or in the Gulph of Pertia, commaunded by the Vice-Roy himselfe in person, Don Alvio Battellia[2] his generall, and Ruferro [Ruy Freire], Captain Major of the friggotts. But by some itt is supposed that by reason of their this yeares expedicion to Malacco (where they gott a greate victory, and by reportt wrought wonders against the King of Achin, with little losse to themselves and to the destruccion of a 1,000 of their enemies and 60 galleys, with greate booty) they will not be able this yeare to encounter ours; but for the next yeare there is no question to be made thereof. Itt behoves us therefore to come stronge and well provided, for uppon this intended action depends their wholl rest.' . . . (*Extract only.* ½ *p.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL[3] AT SURAT TO WILLIAM BURT AND OTHER FACTORS IN PERSIA, OCTOBER 6, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 25).[4]

Wrote last on July 19, 'by the Dutches convayance overland.' Wylde's departure, it is hoped, has put an end to the controversies between the two factories, and so a short answer will suffice to the bitter letter from Persia dated June 8 and received overland September 15. Arrival of the fleet from England at Surat Bar on September 22. Finding here a Portuguese fleet of about thirty frigates, etc., which had already seized and carried off the '*Mussahee*' [*Mūsāī*] with a very great wealth of treasure, they feared to venture into Swally Hole until information had been obtained of the enemy's designs. Some of the frigates approaching

[1] A second copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] Don Alvarez Botelho. The writers were of course ignorant of his death off Jambi, in the action described on a later page.

[3] Consisting of John Skibbow, Joseph Hopkinson, Richard Barber, James Bickford, and Arthur Suffield.

[4] Sent overland by the messengers who had brought the letter to which it replies. A note states that, in consideration of the prevailing dearth, the bearers were paid 30 mahmūdīs beyond the usual allowance.

This letter has been printed at full length by Mr. Forrest (*op. cit.*, p. 6).

too near, one was destroyed and another captured. From the Portuguese prisoners it was learned that an attempt would be made to burn the fleet by means of fireships. Skibbow and other factors succeeded in getting on board, bringing urgent entreaties from the natives that the fleet should protect the *Shāhī*, which was expected from Mokha 'most richly fraught'. Thereupon Rastell and the other newcomers went on shore and, after conferring with the local officials, ordered the fleet to sail in quest of the junk, 'to the great contentment of this people.' 'Since which by letters from Damon is advised that seaven of their friggatts following the fleete, and takeing advantage of the seperacion of one single shipp from the rest, very boldly attempted her with fire workes, etc.; but shee (prepared with the like) both acquitted herselfe of danger and even by their own ellemente of fire (directed by the just hand of God) consumed five of the seven, the rest of the fleet haveing also by this tyme incompassed them round and (as is guest) might with their ordnance (and not solely by fire as aforesaid) helpe to make up the full period of that destruction; many dead bodyes (some say two boats lading) being brought on shoare and interred at Damon, but the body of the Vice-Kings sonne, who it seemes perished alsoe in the accion,[1] not found to accompanye the rest of his fellowes.' Send a copy of the Company's letter addressed to the factors in Persia, and will forward the original by the fleet. This will show the intentions of the Company regarding a further supply next year. Their performance herein may be absolutely depended upon, as the funds for a Third Voyage were subscribed before Rastell left London, and moreover the news of the advantageous contract recently made with the Shāh 'will soe enlighten the East India accion in England' that no difficulty is likely to be experienced in raising a further stock. The Company are anxious to secure the more seasonable dispatch from Surat of the home-going ships, and to this end it is proposed that the out-coming fleet, after meeting with the vessels already in Indian waters at an appointed rendezvous, shall make Gombroon their first port. Request information whether the factors can arrange to bring down their silk to that place by the time of the ships' arrival. Now return to other points in the factors' letter. The 'red earth of Ormus' [*see previous volume*, p. 188] is in

[1] As will be seen later, this was incorrect.

so little demand that no more need be sent. Urge increased vigilance in defeating attempts to defraud the Company of their share of the Gombroon customs. Possible remedies are the erection of a customhouse, or the appointment of an Englishman, with a native assistant, to look after the business. Desire them to ascertain whether the Shāh would be willing to contribute to the cost of the former, 'for of ourselves wee dare not undertake it.' As regards the latter plan, Bangham would be a suitable man for the post, but at present he cannot be spared. Inquire what steps have been taken to ascertain the amount of goods and treasure imported and exported yearly by the Dutch ; 'and forasmuch as the Company are yet in treaty with the Dutch commissioners in England for the compounding of all differences betwixt both Companies, and for that, amongst divers other important demands of ours, that one of their customes most unjustly from tyme to tyme denyed us being a matter of worth and waighty consideracion,' certified extracts from the customs registers on this point should be procured for dispatch to England. Remind them to look into the matter of the deficiency in the weight of silk. The Company insist upon information regarding the 35 bales of silk bartered for private trade ; they want to know the names of the owners and why the matter was not brought to notice earlier. Will take care that freight is duly levied upon the goods of 'Signor Orlando' [*see the previous volume*, p. 322]. The controversy between Wylde and Boothby they leave to be decided at home. The fact that the *Charles* and the *Jonas* have lost their monsoon this year for England has led to the decision that the *Discovery* and *Reformation* shall go home straight from Gombroon. Warn them to have ready their accounts relating to the Old Stock for dispatch to the Company by those ships. Will send particulars of goods freighted from Surat by private individuals, in order that the full amount due for customs may be exacted. Division of freight money between the various accounts. The famine in India has caused a great scarcity of indigo. The merchants who came from Persia in the English ships, finding themselves debarred from proceeding to the Deccan for the purchase of finer goods, owing to the wars in those parts, have bought up the whole of last year's crop. The price is now 18 and 18½ rupees per maund, and the

factors have little hope of securing much of the new season's crop, 'unlesse that with you there be some discreete preventions or restrainte of passengers on our retourning shipps from thence this yeare.' Thank them for their relation of the wars between the Persians and the Turks, 'together with the Portingalls pettie preparacions.' 'Advices by the way of Mocha since doth seeme to ascertayne that the Turke hath received a fatall overthrow ; and of the Portingalles proceedings in these parts you have allready heard our discourse ; their supplye out of Europe this yeare being onely a carrack and one gallion, which will very much disapointe the Vise-Kinges designes by the want of men, mony, and usefull provisions, which intelligence tells us are things he greatly stands in need of. That which wee here most dread are his stratagemes by fire in Swally, and his friggatts intercepting of your boats in Gumbroone.' Suggest that the Khān of Shirāz should be asked to assist by lending country boats and musketeers. The Company will no doubt investigate their complaints of the badness of the cloth received last year ; trust that the consignment now to be sent them will make amends. Note their remarks regarding the esteem of gold and the value of various gold coins in Persia ; but desire further particulars, 'more especially touching the intrinsicall vallew of uncoynd gould, whether in ingots or other formes, and whether in your payments or bartar with the King the same would not passe as currant as other specie, or part in that and parte in ryalls etc., as may best arise to the highest proffitte of the Company. It is a subject that hath begotten great dispute at home ; therefore wee pray you not to passe it over slightly, the rather also in regard of the scarcity of ryalls, not to be purchast now under 4*s.* 10*d.* the ryall of eight ready monye.' Will not omit to show all fitting courtesy to any Armenians that may desire their assistance. A supply of gunny, ropes, etc., for packing, and also of house-provisions, will be furnished by the fleet. Expect in return some Shirāz wine, vinegar, 'accharr of grapps,'[1] pistachios, rosewater, etc. 'Above all let us not come behinde the Dutch for some of your Persian horses of noate to content this warlike prince, etc.' The shipping of horses for private individuals should be prohibited. Difference in accounts between Burt, Malachi Martin, and the late

[1] Grapes pickled in brine—a delicacy still in favour in India.

Richard Predys. The list sent of Indian commodities suitable for Persia did not specify either prices or quantities requisite; this should be rectified in future advices. (*Copy.* $6\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY AND OTHER FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, OCTOBER 11, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 33).

Since writing on September 30 they have had in part a verbal answer from Mr. Mountney, and have further received a letter from him, written at Broach on his way back to Ahmadābād; but they still await information on certain points, especially as to the stock of indigo available, its price, and the prospects of the new crop. Forward a list of commodities to be purchased in Ahmadābād and Cambay for England and Bantam; desire that the investment may be commenced as soon as possible, and the goods sent down without loss of time. Care should be taken to secure carts beforehand, to avoid being forestalled by the Dutch or others. Intend to send up 25,000*l.* or 30,000*l.* as soon as the ships arrive. Have just received their answer of October 6, and now reply. No further purchases should be made of 'ruslack [crude lac: Hind. *ras*] on stickes or refined gumlack in shells, or any other commodity that is not mencioned in our foresaid list', without special authority. If, however, on the arrival of the expected 'caphila', sugar can be had at about 36–39 rupees the candy of ten maunds, they may buy 4,000 or 5,000 maunds of good quality for export to Persia, besides enough to fit up 300 jars of green ginger in all. Send samples (with prices) of the sorts procurable at Surat, and request similar samples in return. For the reasons given by the Ahmadābād factors, they will restrict the purchase of Sarkhej indigo to 500 baskets, at a price not exceeding 16 rupees the maund. It will be necessary, therefore, to increase the amount of indigo to be provided at Agra, the funds for which can best be furnished through Ahmadābād by bills of exchange. Request the immediate remittance of 20,000 rupees (or 30,000 if possible) to that factory, and further supplies of 40,000 or 50,000 every twelve days. Will send up as soon as possible a special convoy of treasure in dollars and rials to keep them furnished with funds. Would be glad to

have their invoices in advance of the goods, in order to make up the invoices, etc., for England. Desire information of the prices of dry ginger and sugar candy, and of the quantities procurable; and authorize the purchase of 20 or 30 jars of myrabolans for Persia. In accordance with a separate letter of this date, they may agree with Hari Vaisya's agent for 7,000 maunds of 'paddye (which when beaten there wilbe reduced to somewhat above 4,500 mands ryce)'. If it can be got for $2\frac{1}{8}$ [rupees?] per maund, they may strike the bargain (subject to the reservation made in the letter); otherwise, the price should be left for negotiation with Hari Vaisya himself at Surat. Will write again as soon as the fleet comes in. (*Copy. 3 pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY AT AHMADĀBĀD, OCTOBER 11, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 32).

Enclose a 'perwanna' [Pers. *parwāna*, an order] from Mīr Mūsā to his brother and from Hari Vaisya to his agent, for the supply of rice for the English ships. Hari Vaisya has at Ahmadābād 7,000 or 8,000 maunds 'in paddy', and of these 4,500 may be bought at once, on condition that the bargain is subject to confirmation from Surat within four or five days. This is in view of a report that the fleet has surprised four or five victuallers from Bassein bound for Damān. *PS.*—The bearer, 'Cussooah Odooe' [Kesava Udaya], a broker, desires to be recommended to Mountney's favour. (*Copy. ½ p.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN NORRIS AND OTHER FACTORS AT BROACH, OCTOBER 12, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 36).

Have not answered till now their letter of September 29, because Norris has been at Surat himself, 'with whom wee communicated our minds to the full in all things needfull.' Provision of 450 maunds of butter at Broach at any price that may be necessary. Request the early dispatch of some sheep. Forward a list of goods to be provided at Broach for England and Bantam, and urge them to push on the investment, paying particular attention to the Company's wishes as regards the length and breadth of the cloth, etc. The Accountant would be glad to have their invoice in

advance, and their other accounts should be got ready in good time. Can supply them (if necessary) with 50 or 60 carts. *PS.*—Their letter of yesterday just received. Will, as desired, instruct the Ahmadābād factors not to leave the bleaching of their calicoes to be done at Broach. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO NATHANIEL WYCHE AND OTHER FACTORS AT BARODA, OCTOBER 12, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 38).

Their letter of October 2, subscribed by [Henry] Graves, has been sufficiently answered in verbal conference with Wyche. Send a list of goods to be provided for England, and impress upon them the necessity of avoiding the faults complained of by the Company in the last investment. Their accounts should be hastened as much as possible. Care should be taken in packing the goods; also that the wrappers and cotton wool used be of the best quality. Remind them to have their carts and commodities ready by the time of the arrival of the caravan from Ahmadābād. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL ABOARD THE *JAMES* TO [HENRY] QUARLES AND OTHER FACTORS AT SWALLY MARINE, OCTOBER 16, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 39).

Has been informed by Gurdās that there are 14 or 15 carts awaiting orders at the Marine. Desires that the treasure may be put into them, with as many chests of coral as they are able to receive, after reserving accommodation for ten musketeers. Thomas Wilbraham is to take charge of this guard, and is to bring his men back from Surat in coaches. Notice should be sent to Barber what goods are coming. *PS.*—The water brought down to the shore should be at once filled into casks, to ease the poor people thus employed. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

THE SAME TO [HENRY] QUARLES AT SWALLY MARINE, OCTOBER 20, 1630 (*Ibid.*).

The goods on shore having all been laden, it only remains to appoint ten good shot to attend them to Surat, and with them

Glanvill and another merchant to see that there be no embezzlement by the way. The rest of the goods shall be landed before night. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

President Rastell at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet [at Swally], October 21, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 40).

Learns that the frigates intend their stratagem by fire this night, and that to distract attention the court of guard on shore will be attacked at the same time. Sends therefore this express messenger, Thomas Wilbraham, to warn them. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet [at Swally], October [22], 1630 (*Ibid.*).

Were glad to learn, from their reply to the President's letter of last night, that the enemy had made no attack. Urge continued vigilance, and suggest that the guard be recalled from the shore, as being no longer needed there. No exploit should be attempted by land without the approval of their Council. [*Rest illegible.*] (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to the Commanders at Swally, October 24, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 41).

The goods last sent up are safe in the customhouse. The quicksilver must be left buried in the sands for a day or two longer, until porters can be procured, for carts would not be safe. Approve the withdrawal of the court of guard each night. As regards their secret intelligence that the Viceroy will be at Swally within twenty days with a large fleet, the same report is general here, where the officials are also importuning them to send the fleet again in search of the *Shāhī*. The ships should at once take in water, etc., so as to be prepared to start by the last day of this month to meet the Dutch fleet expected from Bantam. Hardly know what to resolve should the latter fail to put in an appearance then, or should the Portuguese attack the English in the interim. In the latter event

it might be wise to make for Persia, in order to safeguard their cargoes; but if so the question arises whether the fleet should not go to Gombroon immediately and leave the Dutch 'to undergoe that shock of mischeife which their treacherous craft would have gladly put uppon us'. Think it improbable that the Hollanders have gone direct to Persia; possibly they are waiting to join with their fleet from Europe, in which case they are not likely to be at Swally till November 20 at the earliest. The Viceroy is expected before that time; and as it is now doubtful whether the goods for England can be got on board in time to save the monsoon, it might be as well for the fleet to go to Gombroon at once and then return to Surat as usual. Request the opinion of the commanders on these points. *PS.*—Mr. Robinson should be admitted to their debates on the subject. Their plans should be carefully concealed from the Governor of Surat. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY AND OTHER FACTORS AT AHMADĀBĀD, OCTOBER 25, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 43).[1]

The fleet returned on October 14 and, the Portuguese frigates being absent, got into Swally Hole without opposition. On the following day ten of the frigates and two small vessels made their appearance; and on the morrow, while the English were unlading their treasure, a number of soldiers were landed as if to intercept it, but desisted on seeing the preparations made to encounter them. On the succeeding day, however, being Sunday [October 17], the Viceroy's son and 'Capt. Moore'[2] landed with 150 soldiers, with colours flying, and came nearer to the English tents; whereupon Capt. Morton and the other commanders, with their men in very good order and with their colours flying, marched to meet them. The English divided themselves into three squadrons, one remaining in sight of the Portuguese, while the other two wheeled behind the sandhills to take them in the flanks. The Portuguese, however, spread themselves along the shore in the expectation of being

[1] A contemporary extract from this letter, describing the fight, is in the Public Record Office (*East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 83). The whole letter has been printed by Mr. Forrest at p. 10 of the work already mentioned.

[2] *Capitão Mór*, i.e. the Captain-Major, Don Francisco Coutinho.

covered by the fire of their frigates. 'But such was the undantednes of our English, being stirred up to a high measure of furie by the howerly vexations and braveing of the enemye as, being now come within shot, with a generall resolucion rejoycing att the occasion, after a shot or two received first from the Portingalls, [they] put on in the verye face and mouth of all their friggatts; and, perceaveing that but three of them could use the advantage of their prowes against them, and that some [seaven *in extract*] of the rest were brought aground and had only their harquibusses acrocke to gaule them, advanced forwards, still plying their small shot with very good discipline, and the Portingalls noe lesse valliantly replying with their double forces, as well from their friggatts at sea as the squadrone on shoare; but not able (it seems) to endure the obstinate rage of our people, they began to give grounde; and ours, most feircely followinge, entred pell mell amongst them, even into the water within lesse then pistoll shot of their friggats, in which intrim the Vice-Kings sonn was convayed aboard, but soe narrowly escaped that the party who provided for his safety was himselfe taken prisoner in the accion; many of the English not feareing to runn up to the chin in water, even to the very sides of their friggats, pursueing the victory with great slaughter, both at shoare and at sea; and at length returned with 27 Portingalls prisoners taken alive, without the losse of anye more then one ancient man (a corporall), not wounded but suffocated only with heate, and the wounding of seaven more of our people. This they happily performed in the sight of Meirza Baker [Mīrzā Bāqir: *see previous volume*, p. 249] and divers of these country people, to their great admiracion and our nations greater honour.' The following day the Portuguese left the port, and thereupon (the Governor having lent his own camels and mules) the English got on shore the rest of the treasure and some goods of value; 'but were faine ourselves to remayne still aboard for the Governours coming downe to the Marine, who haveing received such fitting entertaynment as became his quallitie returned againe contented.' Their last letter gave hopes of a greater convoy both of men and money than the present condition of affairs will permit, owing to the importunity of their creditors. Will, however, dispatch some treasure within four or five days under the charge of John Willoughby and Thomas

Robinson. Revoke accordingly their former order for remittances to Agra from Ahmadābād, as they will now transmit funds direct. Urge the preparation of carts in order that no delay may occur in sending off the goods when Willoughby and the rest arrive. As it is doubtful whether the Broach factors can procure sufficient transport for the Ahmadābād goods as well as their own, the carters should if possible be induced to take the former on as far as 'Rannell' [Rānder]. Advices from Masulipatam give little hope of the Dutch reaching this place before November 20, 'by which meanes wee are likely to abide the single brunt of the Vice-Kings expected forces ourselves.' *P.S.*—Have just heard from the fleet that last night about eight o'clock the Portuguese put in execution their main stratagem, by firing their four prepared vessels, but the vigilance of the English defeated their design. (*Copy.* 2¾ *pp.*)

JOHN VIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE ATTACKS BY THE PORTUGUESE (*Marine Records*, vol. lii. p. 50).

1630, *October* 14. The fleet anchored in Swally Hole. About sunset the Portuguese came in sight. *October* 15. The enemy's squadron of 15 frigates anchored a mile to the northwards. *October* 16. 'In the afternoon he landed by judgment near a hundred men. We that fornoon having landed som treasure, Capt. Morton and others of the commaunders, with som 40 or 50 men armed, marched towards them to se ther intent; but the enymie, seing them comming, reatreted back to ther frygats and got aboard them as fast as they could. They never cam without commaund of ther frigats. Our comaunder[s ?], seing that, returned backe agayne to ther tents and caused the treasur to be caried away as sonn as possibell for Swalie or Surrat, as carts and men could be gotten, which was all done that night.' *October* 17 (Sunday). 'In the afternoon the enymie landed near 150 men, most of them in arms, and cam marching towards our tents. Our comaunders landed, and with them som small shoot and pikes, and with the court of gaurd near upon 200 men. They marched towards the enymie in two or three companys. The enymie making a stand a prety while, our comaunders with our men went and (blessed be God) had the day, for the enymie was forced to flye to ther frigats

for refuge, and happie was he that could get first aboard, our men comming on them so fircelie that they tok hould of ther frigates ors and kyld a many of ther enimmis in the sea; and in ther frigats we tok 26 Portingalls alive, som hurt and som not hurt, and by the report of the peopell next day we had slayn 150 or 200 of ther men, both black and whit peopell. They did shot of ther frygats gownes [guns] towards our men many tyms, but . . . . our men cam all well of without the lose of any man. We had eight men hurt in all, but all recovered of ther hurts, althought som whear a long tyme.' *October* 18. The Portuguese went down to Surat River. *October* 20. They returned with four fireboats. *October* 24. 'About eight of the clock at night the enymie cam [unto?] us with his fyre boats, being four great boats bilded for the porpose. They whear chayned two togayther, and 120 foot of chayne betwixt two boats, the chayne being borren up with a great bamboe, the chayne riven in throught the bamboe from on boat to the other. And in ther comming on, being the last quarter ebe, our boats, being all of them ahead of us at wach, saw them comming and withall presenlie shoote of a muskute for an alarme to the fleat, and withall mor shot went of out of our boats apace. The enymie, seeing it that he was desscried, withall presentlie gav fyre to two of his boats, which tok fyr from on end to the other instantlie; and presentlie withall fyred his other two boats. Now when they whear all of a fyre it was as light as day. And our boats being all fitted went with ther graplings and heauft them into the fyre boats befor they cam near our ships, and by Gods help towed them all four ashoar on the mayn sid and put all the fyr out without any danger to our ships. . . . The enymie . . . . mad as much hast back agayn, yea mor then ever he mad on, for his frigats never cam on after the fyr was kyndled, neyther mad any shot at all.' *October* 26. Another squadron of Portuguese frigates arrived, making up their number to forty-five. *October* 27. The enemy's fleet departed, some for Cambay and some for Damān. *November* 21. 'We had certayn word of Rufreros comming to us with 90 sayll of frygats and six ships.' *November* 22. 'We saw 20 sayll of frygats comming towards [us?], being all frygats of war, who passed ther tym by us to the second of December, somtyms ryding without the sand above us two mill, somtyms at Swalie Bar and Surrat Bar,

never comming neare us; but so near as he durst he cam to se our force, somtyms landing som men on the sand, who cam near to our ships at a low water, but whear gon presenlie.' *November* 28. Detained a native boat from Surat, carrying provisions and letters for the Portuguese from the Governor of Surat and others. The boat was allowed to pass, but a Portuguese merchant who was on board was kept prisoner for a while, and was then released by order of the President. *December* 4. The frigates departed and were not seen again; 'but at Christmas we had certayne word that the Viseroye would be with us with all the force that possibell he could mak throughtout all Endye; but it would be when that our ships returned back from Persie.' *December* 14. 'Cam the Cambay fleat by, being near 150 sayll, whearof four of them cam into Swalie Holl, being loden with the Governers goods of Surrat that cam from Cambay.' (3¼ *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY GEORGE MARRIOT (*Marine Records*, vol. lv. p. 20).

1630, *October* 15. Sixteen Portuguese frigates and four great fireboats anchored in the Hole, about a mile and a half to the north of the English fleet. *October* 17. 'The Portingalles landed great storre of thear men, and the Viseroyes sonne with them, and the frigates prowes lyinge closse upon the shower. Wee not knowinge thear pretentes, haveinge monyes and goodes of the Companyes upon the strande, som 40 thousand powndes, wee marched downe upon them despratly in the face of theare great ornance in thear frigates and skirmaged with thear menn ashower; but we plyinge them so fasst and falling upon them that wee forsed them to take the wallter. Thear we made a great slater amongest them, and broffte off som 24 alive prisners with us clouse from thear frigates sides. Thankes bee to God, wee came off and losste not a manne, but only three hurt, our trompeter beeinge one; hee was shot in the risste, and another in the thighe, and the other one the topp of the forrhed; the which was to the admiration of the pepell that wee came off so farly.' *October* 24. 'At 8 aclocke at night they put in practisse thear 4 fier bootes adrifft upon us with the tide of ebb, thay beeinge chayned too and too togeather. But, thankes bee to God, wee beeinge redy with our booates ahead of

the shippes, well maned with small shott, and eache boat a chayn and graplinge, wee gave waye upon them and heved in our graplinges into them and toed them cleare of our shippes, too of them upon the mayne and the other too upon the sand, the whear thaye burned. Thear thaye might see thear Sondayes woorke ended and ruinated.' *October* 26. 'Arived 24 greatt frigates more from Gooa, Lufrayre [Ruy Freire] by reporte beeinge commander off them.' *October* 27. 'At night thaye all departed from us, seeinge thaye coulld dooe noe spoyll upon us. Thaye have put us to a great deall of trobell.' (1 *p.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BY ANDREW WARDEN (*Marine Records*, vol. lvi. p. 29).

October 17. The fleet put ashore a quantity of money and quicksilver. In the afternoon the Portuguese landed about a hundred of their men, whereupon a similar number of the English went ashore. The enemy were chased to their frigates, a great many killed, and 26 or 27 taken prisoner. About six Englishmen hurt, but only one, named Baker, 'being a fate man, ovearheatein of his bodey and drinkein of colde watear, died, bein not shot at all.' *October* 18. The frigates departed to Surat River. *October* 21. They returned; and at night came near the fleet, but withdrew upon being fired at. *October* 24. An attempt was made to burn the English ships with fireboats, but the latter were towed ashore without doing any damage. (2 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO JOHN NORRIS AND OTHER FACTORS AT BROACH, OCTOBER 25, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 46).

The enclosed advices for Ahmadābād (which are left open for their perusal) will explain why only a brief answer can at present be sent to their letters of October 14 and 16. The prices given in the list for broad baftas are approximate only. Approve the provision of butter in Baroda. The sheep were duly received. Mr. Mountney has been advised to agree with his carters to go through to 'Rannell'. Will send up 50 or 60 carts when the fleet is watered. The Governor should be asked to assist in guard-

ing the goods while at the waterside. A present is intended for him, and will be forwarded secretly; they dare not pass it through the customhouse, lest the Governor of Surat should seize it. Their proceedings with the Portuguese will be learned from the enclosure. *PS.*—The advices for Ahmadābād should be sent to Mr. Wyche at Baroda for him to read and forward. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to Nathaniel Wyche and other Factors at Baroda, October 25, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 47).

Refer them for news to the letters addressed to Ahmadābād, which are left open for their perusal. Note their care in procuring the Governor's parwāna 'for the safer passage of our freinds past Wasse[tt]'[1]; the same precaution should be taken in the case of the caravan expected from Ahmadābād and the one about to be dispatched from Surat. All the 'cannekeenes'[2] required will be bought at Cambay. 'For that sort of clothing which you call canguinees, usually bought by the Dutch, though wee know them not, yet may you provide a bale or two for musters only.' No dependence can be placed on Broach for washing or bleaching; 'remember that they are in the same predicament and calamitie there as with you.' Commend the factors' endeavours to induce the weavers to alter their looms; would be glad to learn the result. The plan of sending rials from Surat to Ahmadābād for remittance to Agra has been crossed by the importunity of their creditors; still the convoy aforesaid will carry thither some supply in rupees, besides a stock for Baroda. Will also forward some presents for the Governor, 'if by any secret meanes we might convaye and conceale them from the knowledge of ours here, who in that kinde only is somewhat troublesome unto us, though in all things else most extraordinaryly favourable and assistant.' In providing baftas, they are not to accept any of less than the usual size, even though offered at a reduced price. The assortments advised are approved. Await their promised invoice. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

[1] Vāsad, where the road from Baroda to Ahmadābād crossed the Mahī.

[2] See a note on p. 95 of the 1618–21 volume. The 'canguinees' mentioned in the next sentence were probably the same goods.

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet, October 25, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 48).

'The last night wee received your letters by Mr. Robinson, and this morning early have againe debated the proposition whereunto the same is answere; and being now confirmed, as well by your joynt oppinions concurring with ours as from other advices since received, by which wee are not only very confident of the Vice-Royes great forces divulged, but are very doubtfull likewise that the Hollanders have diverted their course first for Persia, with sinister intent to put us in the forefront of the battle, and for those other reasons also in our former letter advised, wee have determinatly concluded your dispatch immediatly for Persia.' For their furtherance herein a special order has been obtained from the Governor 'to his people belowe' to give all assistance in their power. The natives are under the impression that the English intend to sail in search of the *Shāhī*; great care should be taken to conceal their real purpose. The President, etc., will be down at the Marine in a few days. In the meantime carts should be sent to fetch such biscuit, rice, and butter as they have at Surat. Rejoice at the news of the failure of the Portuguese attempt against the fleet. *P.S.*—'With the carts which are to bringe downe the rice, etc., aforesaid, wee pray you to send up halfe a score musketters to gaurd downe those provisions, for the preventing of any assault by the poore starved people of the country, who out of desperacion of their present miserable estate and condition may attempt something beyound their usuall valour and our owne expectacion.' (*Copy. Damaged.* 1½ *pp.*)

President Rastell at Surat to Thomas Wilbraham at the Marine, October 25, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 50).

The Governor's deputy at Swally Marine has complained that Wilbraham not only refused to allow him to look at a certain chest which had been landed, but also abused and struck him. Such conduct may have serious effects; but before passing censure Rastell will wait to hear Wilbraham's version of the occurrence. Meanwhile cautions him to behave civilly to the said deputy, and

to permit him to view (but not to open) every chest or bale landed. *P.S.*—Has been unable to obtain porters here to fetch up the quicksilver; so Wilbraham and Langford must endeavour to hire 'coolees' for the purpose, even at an increased rate of pay. It should be sent up all together, and should be accompanied by some Englishmen to look after its safety. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM, OCTOBER 27, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 51).

Note the extraordinary loss sustained in putting off their goods. Would be glad to know the remedy which Sill has in mind; also whether a small vessel, if provided, would be safe from the Portuguese frigates, and whether this expense could be saved by an earlier supply of goods direct from England. A point to be considered is what employment could be found for the ship or ships between the date of arrival and the time when a cargo would be ready. Regret to hear of the bad sales of European goods, owing (as here) to war and famine. Their relation of Dutch successes and misfortunes has been for the most part confirmed by 'this comandore' [i.e. the Dutch chief], who also declares that a fleet has started from Batavia for Surat. Suspect that, if so, it has gone to Persia first, leaving the English to deal with the Portuguese single-handed. Suppose that the Portuguese frigates are not idle on the Coromandel Coast; and as Sill appears to intimate some imminent peril therefrom, they would be glad to receive any suggestions for a 'fitting course of prevencion'. Desire also the opinion of the factors concerning the continuance of Armagon, and what expenditure would be necessary to make it safe against the enemy. Note the goods sent in the *Dove* to Bantam, and the reason of the poor quality of part of them. Would do their best to assist in the timely provision of funds for the next investment if they had a small vessel to spare, but this is unhappily not the case. The detention of Read or any other servant on that coast is left to the discretion of Sill (the Agent being absent). Intimate that if Lawrence Henley cares to remain, he 'shall not have cause to repent him thereof'. The accusations against Cartwright have been examined, but they do not appear to be of serious importance. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2½ *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to Nathaniel Wyche and other Factors at Baroda, October 27, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 53).

Have received their letter of the 23rd, and the accompanying invoice. Remind them to be provided with plenty of carts by the time the caravan from Ahmadābād arrives, and to seek (if necessary) the assistance of the Governor in guarding the goods to Broach. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

The Same to Nathaniel Mountney and other Factors at Ahmadābād, October 27, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 54).

[*Part illegible.*] Will insist no more on the provision of indigo, unless it be to be had good and within the price mentioned. As gunny is not available there, they will procure it elsewhere. Purchase of sugar, sugar candy, and dry ginger. These goods should be made up into portable loads fitting for carriage in Persia, the weight of three English broadcloths being a fitting proportion for that purpose. Have credited Ahmadābād factory with the 20,000 rupees remitted to Agra, and will shortly dispatch a further supply of money as promised. [*Part illegible.*] Hope to send up some presents with the convoy. Are now hastening down to the Marine to dispatch the fleet, and therefore cannot answer Rand's letter at present. *PS.*—Their departure having been delayed, they have discussed Rand's application and have decided to increase his wages to 60*l.* per annum, provided he stays three years longer in India. (*Copy. Damaged. 2 pp.*)

President Rastell and John Skibbow at Surat to [William] Langford and other Factors at Swally Marine, October 27, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

Their letters of yesterday ought not to have been addressed to the President personally. Langford should take his orders from Bickford, and Wilbraham from Suffield, without troubling Rastell. The copper pots will be sent down this morning. The quicksilver should be forwarded in carts to Swally under proper guard. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to John Norris and other Factors at Broach, October 30, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 55).

As desired, will send up some presents, 'soe soone as wee may be permitted to be masters of them and ourselves.' [*Part illegible.*] Care to be taken in guarding the expected caravan. Are glad to learn that, in spite of the competition of the Dutch, they are able to get 12 or 13 corge of cloth daily. John Glanvill and 'young Spiller' will be sent to assist them. Richard Warfield has already started with 32 carts, and others will follow speedily. All their goods that are ready should be forwarded at once to this place, in order that the carts may return to fetch those brought from Ahmadābād and Baroda. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1¼ *pp.*)

The Same to the Commanders of the Fleet, October 30, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 57).

Their plans have been changed by the receipt of intelligence from Goa that the Viceroy, having been disappointed of his promised supplies from Europe, and being destitute of men and fitting provisions, has abandoned his designs and stopped all work on the fleet he was fitting out; 'soe as, besides those forty and od friggatts which are yet lurking about the river, and [ ] others that are allready departed Goa, he will not be able to furnish above a dozen more, which he reserves for conduct of the Cambaya caphila whilst these Moores and hee are now in treatye about restitucion of the *Mushahee* att Damon. And haveing had conference with this Governour and cheife marchants about the unsafety of both theirs and our goods at the Marreene when the tyme shall come for lading and dispatch for Persia, and consulting with them of the meanes to defend the same and to awe our dareing, desperate enemye, they have freelye condesended to the landing and planting of ordinance unto our best advantage and defence, and if need be will ad of their owne and assist us with 100 or 200 of their reputed best shot from Rannell, to joyne with as many of yours, or what elce ourselves shall propound for the ease and comon good of both, they being partly sencible of the Dutches treacherous wyles, who let not now

themselves to divulge that their fleet is gone for Persia.' Further, for the ships to go at once to Persia and then return to Surat would entail the loss not only of the monsoon for England but also of that for Bantam, a point 'not thought on before'; while if they remain long enough to take on board the goods now ready and make Gombroon their last port, they can save the monsoon in each case. These considerations having been debated, they have decided that the fleet shall remain for the present. Will repair aboard to discuss the place or places fitting for fortification; in the meantime the commanders should survey the ground and form their own opinions. While waiting, the lead might be put ashore, if this can be done without prejudice. As regards the trimming of the two frigates, they should bear in mind the danger they lately escaped, and be vigilant against a further attempt. (*Copy. Damaged.* 2 *pp.*)

George Willoughby, John Hunter, and William Matthew at Masulipatam to the Company, November 2, 1630 (*O.C.* 1322).

Wrote last on April 19 [*not extant*] by the *London.* Reached St. Augustine's Bay on May 4, where their men 'had theire fill of flesh'; sailed again on the 8th, and arrived at Johanna on the 21st. Having refreshed with fruit, they departed on May 23 and reached Armagon on June 27, having lost but one man in their passage. At Armagon they found Christopher Read, Thomas Tempest, and Richard Harrison, factors, on whose advice they landed some quicksilver, lead, alum, and money, and agreed for a supply of 'paintings' [printed calicoes] to be delivered in four months from July 9. Prices obtained for their English commodities. The candy reckoned at 520 lbs.; the 'pagode' (containing 20 'fanams Armagon') rated at 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the rial of eight at 15 fanams or 5*s.* Send a list of 'the paintings agreed for'. Matthew Duke died at Armagon 'of a flux', after five days' sickness; the loss of his experience has been much felt. From that place they forwarded to the factors at Masulipatam a copy of the Company's letter and desired them to 'sett a begining to our affaires'. Quitted Armagon on July 15 and reached Masulipatam four days later. Could not spare any of their own factors to remain at the former

place, as the services of every one were needed at Masulipatam, 'which was as it were belayed with other merchants of the Dutch as English Company and free traders, makeing their severall investments with all possible haste that might bee at sundry places in the country, and soe much the more because of the *Starrs* arivall; but left our busines with those factors there then resident for the Old Stock, whome we made as sensible as we could of their fitting and expected assistance in this Second Generall Voiadge.' At Masulipatam they found Henry Sill, one of the Bantam Council ('entituled Agent of the Coaste'), with two ships, the *Falcon* and the *Dove*, sent from Bantam on account of the Old Stock. Begged Mr. Sill to send to 'Pettepuly'[1] for Mr. Henley ('whoe only was experienced in theis parts'), without whose assistance they could not start their business. Ralph Cartwright was at 'Mountepuly'[2] and Benjamin Owen (purser) at 'Viraacheron',[3] purchasing calicoes. Found that the factors of the Old Stock had taken no notice of their letters from Armagon, though had they, as requested, made an investment for them their dispatch from this coast would have been much furthered. On Henley's arrival a consultation was held, and he, John Hunter, and William Matthew were dispeeded to Petapoli and the neighbourhood to provide calicoes. They took 2,000 'riders' [*see previous volume*, p. 156] and 1,500 'pagodes', borrowed from their good friend 'Meirquimaldin' [Mīr Kamāldīn]. Mr. Henley was made 'cheife in our said employment'. On arrival at Masulipatam, with Sill's approval, a house was taken for the New Stock, the existing factory being too small for both establishments. Sent the Company's letters to Surat and have since heard of their safe receipt. By the *Dove*, which was dispatched to Bantam on September 8, they sent the bale of silk 'pottolaes' for sale against the arrival of the *James*. 'Att our arivall heere wee landed on the agreements made by the aforesaid assistants of the Old Joint

[1] Petapoli or Peddapalli, a village three miles to the north of Nizāmpatam. The latter is on the coast, about thirty-six miles west-south-west of Masulipatam. Petapoli was once a port of considerable trade, but was left high and dry by the advance of the Kistna delta.

[2] Motupalli, a decayed port on the coast, about twenty miles west-south-west of Nizāmpatam. Bowrey calls it 'Montapolee'. It was in Golconda territory (*O.C.* 1486).

[3] Vīravāsaram, a town in Bhīmavaram tāluk, Godāvarī district, eight miles north-west of Narsāpur and forty miles north-east of Masulipatam. Later on the English established a regular factory here.

Stock, supposeing they had retorned hether on condicions bothe honorable and proffitable, being they were by letters more then once sollicited to retourne, and on their retorne gratefied with agreeing to anything they desired ; but we by experience finde it quite contrary to our expectacion ; for allthough they had granted them what they desired, yet they, it seemes, desired not such condicions as they ought to have done for the[ir] employers benefit ; so that, whereas wee now pay great customes for the transporte of our goods out of the cuntry to this place, as duties of rivers and townes, as allso of this citty gates, they might have all bin excluded by agreement on demaund ; but now noe favour shewed therein. And whereas wee now trade under lisence and by curtesie of petty governours, they might with ease have (as we conceave and are informed) procured this Kings pattent for their secure and undisturbable trade ; which the great Governour and merchants of this place, whoe sollicited there retourne, would have with dilligence sollicited and procured for their owne good, as security of their ships and goods at sea and benefit by trade with them on land. . . . . Mr. Henly, on first now setling trade in Pettepuly, made agreement with that Governour, as it seemes, to shipp goods from thence, paying halfe the custome usuall in Musulpatam ; in which agreement he had other proffitable condicions, and not doubting the performance thereof did not seeke to have it ratified, either by the great Governour of this place (under which Pettepuly standeth) or the Kings Majestie ; whereby now that the Deputy Governour of this place (under whome Pettepooly goverment standeth) will not allow thereof, it is of noe velidict [validity] ; whereby the goods ready to lade cannot be there shipped, but by this Governors order must be brought hither to be shipt, which wilbe both chargeable, by reason of the many places of custome to be paid for its free passage, and dangerous, by the transporte of boats from thence for weting, as allso doubtfullness of surprisall thereof by theeves, of which the great dearth on this coaste hath filled the cuntrye. Concerning which breach of agreement Georg Willoughby hath had conference with the Governour of this place, requiring his order to cause the fullfilling of the said agreement, that the goods now readye to ship for the Old Joint Stock may be embarqued without impediment ; but the Governour denying the same and

requiring the said goods to be brought hether and shipped from hence, he hath, with the advice of our good friend Meirquimaldin, dispeeded a pattamar with letters to courte six daies since for redress of the same, expecting free leave for the shipping of the same, according to the justice of the cause, alleadging that the reason of our formerly not seeking to have the said agreement ratified by the greate Governour was no fault in the actor, but rather ignorance in knowledg of the accustomary priviledges of this kingdomes goverment, incident to strangers.' For these errors Sill is perhaps to be held responsible, but his extreme sickness may plead his excuse; while Henley can hardly be blamed, owing to his want of authority in the matter. 'On this coaste is a great and mortall dearth, which begann three yeares since and still increaseth; which with the unusuall great cargazone invested this yeere in this place, with the many free traders, Dutch and Danes, etc., hath raised the prise off cloth to an extraordinary rate, and scarce to be so procured, and hath allso beaten downe the prise of gold, allum, and broadcloth, that in one hundreth yeeres there hath not, neither may be expeckted, the like, to the great hinderance and losse to our parte of the Second Generall Voyadge. God grant that the rest marketts, as of cloves, etc., be not forestalled in the like kinde. The cloth of theis parts is growne very deceitfull, as wanting in both lengths and breadths, which wilbe very prejudiciall to the proffitt and vend thereof; the cause whereof, as we conceave, is want of experienced buyers, of which this place hath of late yeeres bin soe supplyed that as soone as the factor had learned to knowe one sorte of cloth from another, his time is expired and he wilbe gon.' Henley, who is the most experienced here, is about to return; while Sill and Read say that they will not stop after next year. Hope to reform this abuse by leaving some of the factors brought from England. Their alum lies on hand, the highest offer received being 8 pagodas per candy. Part of their lead has been sold at 16 pagodas per candy. Of their broadcloth, only reds are suitable for these parts; they have sold 202 'garse' at 3 pagodas per 'garse' ('the garse[1] being something less then the English yard') and 23 at 2¾ pagodas. Reasons why the lead fetched less than that brought from Bantam. Hope to ship 230 bales of goods for this

[1] Hind. *gaz*: see Bowrey's *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 218.

place, and to depart for Armagon not later than the middle of December. Thence they expect to start for Bantam by January 1. List sent of the goods they hope to procure. 'The pag[ode] current in this place (which cannot be stampt in this kingdome, neither is at present in any other) is worth upwards of 9 shillings sterling; wherefore we have rated it at 9*s.* 4½*d.*, to thereby produce some proffitt on our English species and comodities.' At Armagon 'double alberts [*see previous volume*, p. 156], sould in barter for paintings, produceth a noble per 100*l.* profit; ryders sould produceth fifteene shillings per 100*l.* profit; lead sold produceth 175 per cent. profit; allum neere 20 per cent. profit; quicksilver upward of 50 per cent. proffitt. In Musulpatam the gold double alberts and ryders yeeldeth one prise, for although the riders be dearer bought then the alberts, theise people, having had their choyce, did chuse the double alberts; which gould yeeldeth in this place neere 5 per cent. proffitt; lead, 150 per cent.; and broadcloth (for that quantetie we have yet sould) cent. per cent. profitt. But our allum is heere a drugg at present, as aforesaid, this place haveing bin cloged these three yeares from Bantam with China allum, the which, allthough worse then English, findeth vend by the cheapnes thereof.' Hope, by reducing prices, to sell off all their goods and leave none on this coast. Have been much assisted by letters of recommendation from the President and Council of Surat. Found themselves unable to frame separate lists of goods suitable for Bantam, Jambi, and Macassar respectively; have therefore made a general list, and the goods can be sorted at Bantam. 'Allthough we have perceaved heere great private trade . . . . yet cannot wee particulerly accquaint you neither with the persons nor somes, for they have bin very private therein, and cautius of the factors com forth in the *Star*.' Suppose, however, that, had it not been for private trade, the two ships would not have been sent from Bantam. The investment thus made must further delay the conclusion of the Joint Stock, as it will be necessary now to await further supplies of money from England to help put off the Coast goods at Jambi and pay customs and other charges at Bantam. Had thus far proceeded, when they received overland from Surat the Company's letter by the *James*, together with the President and Council's directions for the relading of that vessel

at Bantam, which shall be duly observed. Will take special care in the stowage of the cloves. Stock of that commodity now at Bantam. 'Your Agent, George Willoughby, doth render unto you humble thanks for your preferring him to be cheife of the southerne factories'; he will do his best to give satisfaction, and wishes he had 'some larger commission for the utter extinguishing of private trade'. It is generally used by those that came from Bantam, and they deny Willoughby's authority to deal with either the servants or the goods of the Old Stock. By report nearly 8,000 rials of eight were brought from Bantam for private trade. Sill is so sick that he has been obliged to leave all his business to others. Injury done to the Company's trade by his private investments. On arrival he sent a capital to 'Gingeally' [*see the previous volume*, p. 316] to buy goods and lade a junk with them; and he forestalled the market at 'Viraacheron', where he is still buying. The factors of the Old Stock, to further their projects of private trade, have appointed Christopher Read (a newcomer) to remain here as second to Sill. The Agent and Matthew endeavoured to secure the appointment of John Hunter, who is both a fitter person and has had five years experience on this coast; but the others refused to allow the Agent a casting vote, and on John Carter, mariner, being called into council, he voted for Read, who has therefore been appointed. Ralph Cartwright is also to stay, though formerly he was accused by the President and Council of Surat of heinous crimes and condemned to be sent home. Beg the Company to take this matter into serious consideration. 'English comodityes vendible on this coaste per annum, if a setled residence, is twelve hundreth hundrethweight lead (whereof 400 hundrethweight in Armagon): quicksilver, 5,000 lb. weight (whereof 2,000 lb. at Armagon): and broadclothes, 20 red stamells (whereof two in Armagon). The factory [at] Armagon of necessity for providing of paintings is to be mayntayned, for you cannot be ascerteyned at present of convenient sorts and quanteties elsewhere. Therefore, for securing the Companies estate it is requisite that 20 souldiers be left there, besyde five factors to mannage their affaires; the charg whereof we computate to be 2,000 pago[des] Armagon per annum (which quoyne wee esteeme at 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling), the factory charges included, paying only the thirds of

merchants sallerie and souldiers wages; where will be necessary to build a fort of four points, each point haveing four peece ordnance (at present there only being a wild fortification without forme or strength), which wee suppose will cost 8,000 rials of eight. A factory in this place (Musulpatam) is necessary to be resetled to supply the southerne factories with sorts of white cloth, which in Armagon are not to be procured.' (*Received from Surat by the* Discovery *and* Reformation. 8½ *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to William Fremlen and other Factors at Agra, November 2, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 60).

Have delayed answering theirs of September 13 and 28, while seeking for bills of exchange to send them. Now enclose some for 30,000 rupees, which they have procured with difficulty. The samples of gum-lac they have forwarded are not approved, and in view of the Company's orders, the dearness of carriage, and the small amount of room available in the ships, none should be purchased for this year. Saltpetre will in future be procured from some place nearer at hand, as already advised, and Surat will only expect what had previously been provided. In the division of their account between the Joint Stock and the First Persia Voyage, neither side is to be advanced to the hindrance of the other; enclose some instructions on this point received from England. Refer to their last letter concerning the provision of indigo. As regards funds, in addition to the 50,000 already forwarded, the factors at Ahmadābād have remitted them 20,000 rupees, and the enclosed bills, payable by 'Bimgee Kuckaw' [*see* p. 56], will provide 30,000 more. Further remittances will be made every eight or ten days until the full amount has been provided. Urge a speedy investment, in order that the goods may be down here before the rains. Of Sarkhej indigo not a single seer is likely to be available, owing to its extraordinary price and scarcity. The Hollanders will be busy competitors at Agra, 'haveing lately made some remittances to their people there and are still indeavouring of more.' Surat is to be credited with 112½ mahmūdīs for Crispin

Blackden's black horse. 'Band Rozae' [Banda-i-Rauza ?] could not be found at Burhānpur; so his 'screet'[1] is returned in order that the debt may be recovered at Agra. The Portuguese frigates have left the coast 'with their Capt. Moore [*see* p. 65] in irons,[2] and notwithstanding what you write of the Portingall padrees advices from thence, their preparation, soe much extolled, is now thought to be reduced to 55 friggatts and but few gallions (if any), which some alsoe saye hee [i.e. the Viceroy] hath recalled againe into the river of Goa, his none supplye out of Europe haveing crost his designes, soe as we hope not to be troubled with them this yeare here in port as expected.' *PS.*—Heretofore the caravans from Agra have been sent 'by that troublesome way of Amadavad', but as 'the other of Brampoore' [Burhānpur] is said to be safer, in future the camelmen should be ordered to take that route. The agreement should stipulate that they are to carry the goods right through to Surat, or they may stop at Burhānpur (as those employed last year did at Ahmadābād) and pretend that they have fulfilled their task. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE COMMANDERS OF THE FLEET, NOVEMBER 2, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

The question of fortification may be considered, but nothing should be put into execution until further order, as 'these people, being now in some better hopes of a firme accord with the Portingalls and being in dayely expectation of the *Mushahees* restoreing, would not willingly give cause of dislike by assisting our defence at the Marine untill they have their ships in possession.' The Portuguese frigates (all but seven now at Damān) have departed to Bassein to refit. The news of the Viceroy's abandonment of his plans is confirmed. Preparations to be made for landing the lead and for lading goods into the *Discovery* and *Reformation.* The person they have detained as a spy proves to be an acquaintance of the Dutch; so they should endeavour to pass off his arrest as a jest, and requite his sufferings with a suitable entertainment. (*Copy. Damaged.* 1 *p.*)

[1] An obligation in writing (Ital. *scritto*).

[2] A letter from the Viceroy (*Lisbon Transcripts: Doc. Remet.*, bk. 29, f. 82) mentions that Coutinho is being brought to trial for his failure.

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet, November 3, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 63).

Have been much importuned for the restitution of the three native boats seized by the fleet. The goods belonging to the Portuguese will of course be kept, but for the rest and for the vessels themselves (if retained) full satisfaction will have to be given. Desire an inventory, and information whether the commanders think it necessary to keep any of the boats. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, November 3, 1630 (*Ibid.*).

As desired, will give timely notice before sending down the saltpetre and pepper. The person detained as a spy should be released, as already ordered. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

Messrs. Willoughby, Hunter, Matthew, Sill, Henley, and Read at Masulipatam to the President and Council at Surat, November 6, 1630 (*O.C.* 1323).

On October 24 received theirs of September 29, and now reply as follows. Rejoice to hear of the power and authority conferred by the Company on the Worshipful Thomas Rastell, to whose directions they will duly conform. Send herewith accounts of the past and intended investments of the *Star's* capital, with copies of their proceedings herein and lists of goods to be laden on behalf of the Second General Voyage. An invoice of the *Star's* cargo from hence will be sent later; also other accounts. Enclose the invoice of the pinnace *Dove*, dispatched for Bantam on September 8; together with a list of goods to be sent in the *Falcon*, which will, it is hoped, follow by the end of the present month. The remains of the Second General Voyage on this coast amount to 1,945*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, as shown in the accompanying list, which gives also particulars of sales of English goods. Of the latter, the commodities vendible on this coast yearly are 1,600 cwt. of lead, 5,000 lb. of quicksilver, 1,500 lb. of 'vermillion', 1,500 lb. of unpolished coral (from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* per lb.), and 20 pieces of red stammel; of all which one-third might be sold at Armagon and the rest here. The charges on account of the Second General Voyage during the *Star's* stay on this coast

are estimated at 500 'pag[odes] Armagon' (at 6*s.* 8*d.* each) for Armagon, and 600 pagodas (at 9*s.* 4½*d.* each) for Masulipatam 'with its subordinate factoryes, being Pettepuly, Viraach[eron] and Mountepuly' [*see* p. 77]. 'Concerning the resetling in this place, which necessarilye must be used to supply the southerne factories, it would bee very fitt that wee, having had so long experience of the discommoditie and inconveniences of our tradeing here, as it were under the favour of theise petty governours, should now, as understanding better, leave that manner of trade in this place, which is very prejudiciall to our masters affaires, and learne by the Dutch a better and more proffittable waye [1], which is to make means, by waye of treatie with this King, to agree for the anuall custome of our trade in this place; which payeing yearly in one some unto the King, wee by his pattent maye have trade in all those places of his kingdome which wee shall have occasion to use, free from such extraordinary exactions as are put upon us by his governors, etc. . . . The which annuall custome, if it maye be procured for 1,500 pago-[das], wee conceave our masters will have a great bargaine thereof for the present, but much more in the future, when theis cuntry commodities may be laden for England, although by any accident wee should want supplies once in three yeares; concerning which wee expect your order to prosequte the same in this vaccation time, which wilbe so much the sooner and cheaper procured in that wee shall not leave any of our people there; for, heere being no capitall to invest after the departure of the *Star*, it is needless to leave any English in this place; from whence we shall depart in friendly manner, shewing some reasons for our retyring, as haveing noe pattent from this King for free trade, etc. The inconveniences of tradeing in this runing manner as these particuler voyages require are many, which causeth that in our sales of English commodities, as investments of the proceed thereof, the imployers sustaine an incredible loss, not less then 25 per cent.; which if it were possible the place wherein the Company trade could be supplyed with a years stock beforehand, it would redound soe much and more unto their proffits, especially on this coast.' Armagon must necessarily be maintained, and it is requisite that twenty soldiers

[1] For the grant of privileges to the Dutch by the King of Golconda see *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*, by J. E. Heeres, vol. i. pp. 231–7.

and five factors be kept there. An improved fortification is also desirable. Forward lists of cotton goods suitable for the southern factories. The kinds most difficult to procure on this coast are 'sallempores, moorees, percallas, longcloth, and muttaphones'; to provide these, 5,000 pagodas should be remitted from Surat by bills of exchange some time before the arrival of a ship from England. Cannot advise what quantity of goods will vend to the southwards over and above the quantity needed to provide the prescribed lading for England; but will write on the subject from Bantam. Will endeavour to lade and dispatch the *James* from thence in ten days, as desired. Ships' stores needed at Bantam; will send full particulars later. Approve the dispatch of a small ship from that place with sugar and spices for Persia. Vessels necessary for the trade of Bantam with the other southern factories. 'It would be very fitt that the factory Armogon had a small vessell belonging to it of 80 or 100 tonns, of fitting force for a man of warr, which might be employed to Gingelly, Aracan, Pegue, etc., on coasting voiages, the profit whereof would defraye her owne and the greatest parte of the factory charges, if well mannaged.' Fear that such a vessel cannot be spared at Bantam; so they refer the question to Surat. Cannot answer from here regarding the amount of pepper and sugar produced yearly at Bantam. The factors of the Joint Stock aver that Macassar will not yield more than one hundred tons of cloves. Factory expenses shall be charged in equitable proportions to the two stocks. Send list of mariners on the *Star* and *Falcon*, and of the stores in those ships. Forward also particulars of the factors employed on this coast, and will do the same as regards Bantam on their arrival at that place. Cost of the factory at Japara [on north coast of Java]. Number of merchants required at the different factories. 'In Armagon five factors wilbe necessarye, because of supplying this place on occasion, as when any shipp shall arive that bringeth a capitall to be invested; four whereof wilbe requisite in theis places heere, viz. one in Musulpatam, one in Pettpuly, one in Mountepuly, and one at Pallivull[1] or Veraacheron, whose assistants for the presente time must be taken out of the said shipps; whereas otherwise three factours would bee ynough for Armagon.' A surgeon, a shipwright, etc., will be

[1] Palivela, in the Amalāpuram tāluk of the Godāvarī district.

required at Bantam. Request instructions whether, in the event of the *Star* failing to return from Macassar in time for the *James*, they may lade some of the Old Stock's cloves in her, replacing the same afterwards. Arrangements for the provision of pepper from Jambi. Their former statement that their gold made upwards of 20 per cent. loss here was due to their rating the pagoda at 7*s.* 6*d.*; they have since decided to rate it at 9*s.* 4½*d.* (the Dutch counting it 9*s.*), and on this reckoning the gold produces 5 per cent. profit. Wish to correct the impression that there has been any discord between the factors of the two stocks; on the contrary, they have worked in 'love and amitie' and have jointly proceeded in the investment of the *Star's* capital. Think that the name of William Read has been erroneously copied in the transcript of the Company's letter, as the only man of that name they know is a sailor in the *Dove.* There has been a difference of opinion as to the extent of Willoughby's authority as Agent, Sill denying his right to interfere in matters relating to the Old Stock. A joint consultation was therefore held by the remaining factors, at which, the servants of the Old Stock being the more numerous, the question was decided in favour of Sill. Willoughby is therefore unable to do anything as regards the remains of the Old Stock. Letters may be sent to the care of Mīr Kamāldīn, who (if the *Star* has departed) will forward them to Armagon overland. Recommend that both he and 'Cojack Allirizack' [Khwājā Alī Razzāq] should be thanked from Surat for the assistance they have given to the factors. The *Star* will sail for Armagon about the middle of December, and from thence for Bantam about the end. Understand from the Dutch chief that his colleagues at Surat will have occasion to use bills of exchange on this place for 20,000 rials of eight. This will afford a good opportunity for remitting the 5,000 pagodas already mentioned. (*Copy. Received from Bantam in London, October* 10 [1631], *by the Dutch ships. 7 pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to Nathaniel Mountney and other Factors at Ahmadābād and Cambay, November 8, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 64).

Note the refusal of the Governor of Cambay to pay the money agreed for here with his brother, except on condition of an allowance

of three per cent. In view of this unjust demand, they have resolved 'to relinquish all further expectacion therein'. Mīr Mūsā, the Governor of Surat, has gone to Balsār to negotiate a settlement with the Portuguese; cannot therefore obtain from him the desired parwāna for their better usage, but Rastell has written himself to the Governor of Cambay, and if the latter ignores this a complaint will be made upon his brother's return. Hari Vaisya has likewise gone to Balsār, but his brother writes from Gandevī that there is no hope of the English obtaining permission to transport paddy from Cambay. The idea must therefore be abandoned, unless the Governor can be induced to help. He should be sounded on the subject, and his answer reported. It is true that the fleet, in its last cruise, seized three native barks, one of which belonged to the Governor of Cambay; they were taken to defend the ships from fireworks. Probably it will be necessary now to buy them outright at a high rate. The coco-nuts belonged mostly to a Portuguese; the rest of the cargoes will have to be paid for, and Mīrzā Mahmūd has been asked to arrange this. Trust that the sum of 15,000 rupees, which was to be paid to them at Cambay out of the proceeds of the Shāhbandar's gold, has now been received. No doubt the difficulty as to this and the 25,000 which the Governor ought to have supplied has been a hindrance to their business; but there can be no need for them to sit idle on that account, as they can be viewing goods and making agreement for them. Request full information as to the progress of their investment and whether they are likely to fall short in any item. Regret to hear of the affront received from 'Cojah Nazams [Khwāja Nizām's] people' and the mishaps suffered by their servants in the broil. Complaint should be made to the Governor of Cambay, especially if Khwāja Nizām supports his men; though, if the English gave any provocation in the matter, 'you were better to smother the bussines then to ingage either you or us into a difference of hatred with a man of his power and quallitie in that place.' Note that a caravan had been dispatched from Ahmadābād with 282 bales of saltpetre in 32 carts, and that two more were to follow. Hope that the first of these has now started. The goods for Persia should be dispatched as soon as possible. Await the promised samples of baftas. The price of the sugar has

been left to the factors' discretion. Would be glad if buyers could be found at Ahmadābād for some of the Company's quicksilver, as the markets here for that commodity are dull by reason of the wars, the prevalent scarcity, and the competition of private traders, who are selling at such unheard-of prices as 62 or 63 rupees per maund. Desire them to buy cinnamon and 'cohoo' [coffee], which is worth here at present 15 mahmūdīs per maund. They should purchase only 'the seed, called bann,[1] and not the huskes'. Samples sent of long cornelian beads, of which two or three thousand should be provided for use in barter in Madagascar. These, like the cinnamon and coffee, must be at Swally in time to be laden on the ships for Persia. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO NATHANIEL WYCHE AND OTHER FACTORS AT BARODA, NOVEMBER 9, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 67).

Note the competition of the Dutch for calicoes and the consequent increase in the price; still, they should do their best to obtain the quantities required, even if the cost be enhanced. The funds at disposal are greater than Surat can find investments for, owing to the scarcity of indigo and cotton cloth. Commend their diligence in getting their own goods carted, and in procuring 'choukees' [guards: Hind. *chaukī*] for the Ahmadābād caravan and a guard of horse to attend both as far as Broach. Will send them some money and red cloth, but the presents are still in the Governor's custody. The President had a 'bucksha' [*bukchah*, a bundle] purloined in passing the river, wherein were some English linen bands, 'an Indian wrought jabee,'[2] and other articles. It is understood that the thief has been seized at Baroda; desire them to inquire into this and reclaim the goods. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] This is the Arabic word for the coffee berry. Herbert, in his *Travels* (ed. 1638, p. 220), describes coffee as 'a sort of Stigian liquour, a black, thick, bitter potion, brewed out of Bunchie or Bunnu berries'.

[2] Possibly a *jubba*, or cotton outer garment.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO PETER MUNDY AND JOHN YARD, PROCEEDING TO AGRA,[1] NOVEMBER 10, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 69).

At Burhānpur they are to endeavour to recover from 'Rajah Raw Rutton',[2] the amount due for some tapestry recently sold to him by Willoughby. The price agreed upon was 18,450 rupees, of which 1,000 were paid, while a 'screet' was given for the rest. That 'screet' is now in the hands of 'Cassidas' [Kāsī Dās], Vīrjī Vōra's agent. It is uncertain whether the Rājā is at Burhānpur or still in the Deccan, 'unto which parts hee is lately gone with the Kings (or be it Assuff Cauns) lasker [army: Pers. *lashkar*].' If he has not returned and is not expected within two or three days, they should not delay, but proceed on their journey to Agra; if, however, they find him at Burhānpur, they are to enlist the assistance of 'Jadowe [Jādū], the kinsman of Gourdas, and of Calliangee [Kalyānjī]', a former broker for the Company, and obtain an interview with the Rājā. To him they should present the President's letter and the 'skreet', and solicit 'his order for the passing and makeing of a barratt' [order for payment: Hind. *barāt*]. This, if obtained, is to be left in the custody of 'Cassidas', for whom a letter from the President is herewith delivered to them. Then they should resume their journey for Agra, where they will receive further instructions. *PS.*—They should make use of the favour of 'Ghinga Ram' [Gangā Rām], one of the Rājā's chief servants, and to this end may present to him, in the President's name, a case of strong waters.[3] (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMMANDERS OF THE FLEET, NOVEMBER 10, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 70).

Request them to inquire into the damage sustained by some bales of cloth in the *Discovery*; also to deliver to Bangham the

[1] For Mundy's account of their experiences see his invaluable journal (*Rawl. MS.* A 315 in the Bodleian, and *Harl.* 2286 in the British Museum).

[2] Rao Ratan Singh Hāra, Rājā of Būndī. His services to the Mogul Emperors are well known.

[3] A note is added of the letters entrusted to the two factors in connexion with this business. They were addressed to the Rājā himself, to 'Hakeim Mezulzeman' [Hakīm Masīh-al-Zamān: *see the volume for* 1622–23, p. 273], to Mīrzā Jam Qulī Beg, to Is-hāq Beg, to Kāsī Dās, and to the two brokers.

desired inventory of goods, etc., belonging to the three barks recently captured. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

THE SAME TO JOHN NORRIS AND OTHER FACTORS AT BROACH, NOVEMBER 10, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 71).

Have been in negotiation with 'Pattell Vachvehera',[1] who is owner of half of the 1,000 maunds of wheat, the other half belonging to a certain 'aldea' [village: Port. *aldea*] not far from Broach. If they cannot agree with him at Surat this day, he and 'Pangue' will proceed to Broach and settle the business with the factors there. When his moiety has been secured, they may treat with the owners of the rest. 'Chaun Sharoff' [Khān Sarrāf] disclaims any interest therein. Their carts, bringing 2,118 fardles of calico and 60 jars of butter, have duly arrived. Dispatch of carts for bringing down the Ahmadābād and Baroda goods. 'Likmydas' [Lakshmī Dās], a broker of Broach, has alleged certain frauds in the provision of baftas of late years. Tapī Dās has in justification sent in his book, and the loan of the factory waste-book is now desired, in order to compare the entries. (*Copy*. 1¼ *pp*.)

THE SAME TO NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY AND OTHER FACTORS AT CAMBAY AND AHMADĀBĀD, NOVEMBER 10, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 72).

Rebuke them for losing time by referring to Surat about the price of the sugar, sugar candy, and ginger needed for Persia, as this point had been clearly left to the discretion of the factors on the spot. Trust that their remissness will not result in loss to the Company, owing to the best sorts having been purchased by others. As to the 'ardeas', these may be provided in Cambay, if they can be got at the prices listed. (*Copy*. 1½ *pp*.)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *DISCOVERY* BY MATTHEW MORTON, MATTHEW WILLS, AND WILLIAM NORRIS, NOVEMBER 12, 1630 (*O.C.* 1324).

Find that the damage to a bale of cloth in this ship was due to some heedless person rolling it over a wet place on deck. (½ *p*.)

[1] The *patel* (village head-man) Vachvohra.

President Rastell and Council at Surat to Nathaniel Wyche and other Factors at Baroda, November 12, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 74).[1]

The bearer, Mr. Willoughby, will deliver to them 9,000 rupees for their use; the rest of the money (70,000 rupees) he is to carry up to Ahmadābād. Have also sent some red cloth, etc., for presents; the other articles intended for that purpose are still in Mīr Mūsā's custody and cannot be obtained until he returns from Balsār. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

The Same to the Factors at Masulipatam and Bantam, November 12, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 74).

Received (only a week ago) the letters from Messrs. Willoughby and Read dated September 27, enclosing advices from Bantam and other papers. Have anticipated their desire for the rehabilitation of Ralph Cartwright and for a letter of compliment to Khwāja Alī Razzāq. Will pay to Mīrzā Mahmūd the money which is to be recovered from 'Richondas'. Disposal of four pieces of brass ordnance at Bantam. Money, etc., due from 'that unworthy fellow White'. Promise support and furtherance in the factors' attempts to suppress private trade. Sandalwood is very little in demand, but a consignment may be sent to Surat from Bantam, 'though (as the tymes nowe governe) wee can expect noe lively vend thereof, especially by reason of the present warrs with Decan, which wee hope are now drawing to their period by the subtill contrivance of Assuff Chaun, the great favorite, who with a powerfull armye is gon out with pretended show to effect that by force which betwixt him and the great ambraws [see p. 28] of that councell they intend to performe by an underhand composition of peace, thereby to save (as much as in them lyes) the honour of the King, who shalbee made beleeve that his power, and not his secret pollicie, shall have brought to passe soe great a victory aymed at.' They are glad to know that the estate belonging to the Old Joint Stock in those factories is sufficient to lade six good ships; but they are surprised that 'soe great a cavidall should be soe long concealed, not alone

[1] There is a duplicate in the same volume (p. 81).

from the Company at home (which was cause of a great dishartening amongst them) but especially from this Councell here (at least as soe pretended), produceing such preposterous courses of hudling home their shipps with coarse, bulkey goods, procured by mony purchast at high intrest, and leaveing the Old Joynt Stocke here plunged in debt, to the great inthralling of these Voyages nowe in agitation'. Promise to send them 'round supplyes' about the beginning of April, including a Persian horse. The captain of the *Jonas*, on his return to England, will no doubt be strictly handled, not only for his insolent pride but also for 'that pilfering act of his'. 'The project concerning Dieu and Damon is by some of us here of auntient experience conceived to be of greater difficultie, danger, and inconvenyence many wayes then it seemes was formerly had to consideracion; the former of them being a place impregnable, and not to be dealt withall by such cowardly and unskilfull souldiers as are these of India, who in former tymes[1] with a very great army have made tryall of their valours even upon the same attempt and came off againe with dishonour. Nor is the place soe accessable for great shipping as that ours by sea should any way prevaile to hinder their releiveing by the Portingalls lesser vessells. And for Damon, being a place of noe great importance, it would not countervaile the distraccion which must necessarily follow such a capitall breach of peace, that must produce an unavoydable dissolution of all trade for Mocha, Judda, etc., whereby the merchants, whose estate abroad is the securitie of ours in India (which is not the least of our cares to provide for), would be reduced to soe miserable a plight as, instead of honour and reward, wee might purchase to ourselves both disgrace and enmytie, as being the originall contrivers of their generall ruine; who contrarywise doe now greatly prosper under our proteccion, and are the greatest freinds and favourers of our bussines now in India.' If any Portuguese captives are released, they should be sent to Macassar and not to the Coromandel Coast. Those at Surat will be detained until the result is seen of the boasted intentions of their fellow-countrymen, who, it appears, are very conceited over their success at Jambi [*see* p. 112]. Note the information given regarding the movements of shipping, etc. Will not forget to send them some men as well as stores and provisions. A

[1] The allusion is to the sieges of 1538 and 1546.

reduction in the number of the former can scarcely be recommended at present, especially as the Dutch seem to have left the English to bear the whole brunt of the Portuguese attack, though their chief here still maintains that their fleet will certainly arrive at Surat this year. Have accepted the bills drawn upon them by Hoare at Bantam, but censure his action in the matter. Money paid to 'Nanaby [Nānābhāi] our Moodye' [*modī*, house-steward], due from the estate of Jeremy Shuker. Inquire the prices of cloves, pepper, and sugar, and the quantities available. Intend to dispatch the *James* and the other two ships to Bantam to fetch 500 tons of pepper and whatever quantity of cloves is available there. These goods will be taken over from the Old Joint Stock's account to that of the Second Voyage, and their value will be applied to the reduction of the Joint Stock's debt at Surat. Request their assistance herein, and in the timely dispatch of the ships to the Comoros, where they are to meet the new fleet from England. A pinnace will be sent from Surat to those islands, to warn the newcomers to wait a little longer for their consorts from Bantam. These intentions should be carefully concealed from the seamen, in order to hinder private trade. *PS.*—Rice being much needed here, it is suggested that a quantity should be procured from Macassar before the ships' arrival, to supply their own wants and serve the markets here or in Persia, 'in case that Gods heavye wrath should not be yet appeased in the further punishing of these people.' (*Copy.* 6½ *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet, November 13, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 81).

William Clark and a couple of packers sent to repack the defective bales of cloth. Enjoin better care in future on the part of those responsible. Return the inventory for the three frigates for amendment. One of these boats should be restored; for the others they will endeavour to agree with the owners. The best of them should be fitted with a deck and made capable of sailing with the fleet. The Portuguese frigates have evidently returned to Goa,

probably on account of their late overthrow in Ceylon,[1] as is gathered from the enclosed translation of advices from Negapatam. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO NATHANIEL WYCHE AND OTHER FACTORS AT BARODA, NOVEMBER 15, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 82).

Have received their letter of the 8th, and the accounts enclosed. Commend their care in procuring for their own and the Ahmadābād caravan 'Don Raw [Dhani Rāo] his perwanna to the choukees [*see* p. 89] within the jurisdiccion of Dellil Ckauns [Dalīl Khān's] jaguire [district: Pers. *jāgīr*] for their better securing.' Have just heard that both caravans have reached Rānder in safety, and will take steps to discharge the forty 'piones' [foot-soldiers: Port. *peão*] hired at Baroda. Urge them to buy as many calicoes as possible, lest they fall short of the number required. Forward some instructions prepared by the auditors in England, and enjoin their observance. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN NORRIS AND OTHER FACTORS AT BROACH, NOVEMBER 15, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 83).

'Ckaun Xaroff' [Khān Sarrāf] still persists that he has no interest in the wheat, but he has agreed to obtain 400 maunds of it for them at six mahmūdīs per maund, and to endeavour to get them the rest (said to be only 400 maunds) at the same price. Cannot spare any of their own store from 'Hanshott' [Hansot, WSW. of Broach], which will be needed for use in Surat and for provisioning the ships. Arrival of the caravans from Ahmadābād and Baroda. Acknowledge the receipt of books and accounts. Regret the slackening of the supply of calicoes, but urge them to lose no opportunity of buying. Enclose some instructions received from the auditors in England; their directions should be punctually followed. *PS.*—John Glanvill and [John] Spiller are to be added to the factory staff. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

[1] Constantino de Sà had been defeated and slain by the King of Kandy, who had thereupon laid siege to Colombo (Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. iii. p. 457).

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Factors at Broach, November 16, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 84).

Received this morning their letter of yesterday, announcing the departure of Willoughby and the rest with the convoy for Ahmadābād. Had meant to send a supply of money in a day or two, but now authorize them to accept instead the Governor's offer of 25,000 mahmūdīs in exchange for bills on Surat. Have arranged for carts to bring on the goods received from Ahmadābād. Adjustment of the cost of indigo in their accounts. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

The Same to the Factors at Ahmadābād, November 16, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 85).

In answer to Mr. Rand's letters of the 6th and 9th, decline to sanction the purchase of indigo at its present price. A supply of 70,000 rupees dispatched to them under the charge of Willoughby and a dozen musketeers. Would be glad if the former practice of remitting money to Agra through Ahmadābād by means of bills could be resumed, as the direct remittance from Surat to the former place entails a loss of two per cent. Have received their patterns of dutties and baftas from Richard Alcock, and will decide shortly. The first caravan from Ahmadābād has reached Rānder, and the second, they hope, is now at Broach. Payment of the amount due for cartage. Enclose for their guidance certain instructions from England regarding their accounts. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

The Same to the Commanders at Swally, November 17, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

The bearer, 'Naggee Shaw' [Nakī Shāh], has kindly undertaken to accompany the owners of the three captured frigates to Swally and to assist in settling with them the amount to be paid for what has been 'converted to our owne necessary occassions'. They intend to reserve the *Coco-nut* frigate, but the other two should be made over to the owners. Any bamboos remaining should also be restored, as they belong to 'a principall marchant, our deare freind here in towne.' (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, November 17, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 87).[1]

Wrote to them only a few hours ago, but have since received the amended inventory, which is now satisfactory. Repeat the directions in their previous letter. Have tried to agree with the 'pragmata'[2] for two of the water boats now at Swally, but he will not part with them; so have procured two others. The frigate to be retained should not be altered until 'Naggee Shaw' and his companions have surveyed her. 'You cannot be unprivy to the universall callamytie of this countrie, by reason of dearth and famine, nowe growne to such an extreame that wee ourselves are become behoulding for corne even to supply our househould provisions. How destitute therefore wee are of all meanes and hopes to furnish you with either bread or rice from hence let this just complaint of ours informe you, and make you sensible of the miserye. It remaynes hereupon that you therefore put your people to a shorter allowance of bisket, though you inlarge the more in flesh. Of rack [arrack] you may not expect any more then one but to be sent you before your departure hence for Persia. What we shalbe able to provide in your absence wee cannot promise, the distillers being all of them (or the most part) with their famylies departed into the parts of more hoped plenty, as are many thousands besides, as well weavers, washers, dyers, etc.; that puts us allmost into dispaire of a competent lading for the succeeding yeares home retourns; and yet these are but the beginings of greater woe yet to come.' (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

The Same to the Same, November 19, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 89).

Intelligence has just come from Bassein of Ruy Freire's arrival from the Gulf of Persia. It is not known what strength he has, but doubtless he intends some attack upon the English ships at Swally. A vigilant watch should therefore be kept, and none of their people allowed to 'range abroad'. Any found in Surat will be promptly sent back to their ships. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

[1] Printed in part by Mr. Forrest at p. 12 of the work already quoted.

[2] This may possibly be *praganā-dār*, 'lord of a *parganā*.'

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Factors at Masulipatam, November 19, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 89).

Forward a copy of their last letter; also a packet from the Dutch here to their friends at Masulipatam. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

The East India Company to the Agent and Council at Bantam, November 20, 1630 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 72).

.... Have written to the factors at Armagon by the *Hopewell*, and have ordered them to send a transcript to Bantam, with copies of their accounts. As for Masulipatam, they have instructed the factors now sent 'to make use of it as occasion shall require, but for the settling of constant factours there we are not yet resolved. . . . If Armogon can furnish us competently with clothing for Bantam, Jambie, and Macasser as well as Muslapatam (as our factours lately retorned from Armogon doe afferme) then we knowe noe reason to be at charge of a factory att Muslapatam, which allsoe we never yet found proffitable unto us, though you much commend it.' . . . (*Extract only.* 1 *p.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders at Swally, November 21, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 89).

Do not believe the information regarding the number of frigates and 'patashes' [Port. *patacho*, a pinnace], for Hari Vaisya's brother writes from Damān that the force there consists only of the fourteen frigates 'of your former acquaintance' and eight (with two 'fustoes' [Port. *fusta*, a pinnace]) belonging to Ruy Freire. Approve, however, of their vigilant care and the measures proposed for meeting an attack. 'Our advices of a month old from Rajapore (not distant farr from Goa) are confident of no gallions at all from thence this yeare; yet speake of 30 friggats and two gallies preparing (according to vulgar noyse) to joyne with the rest that were here before for Surat; that being the desire at least of the Vice-Kinge, who for his honours sake would faine be doeing somewhat to mayntaine his repute and great braggs this yeare against the English; but (saith our intelligencer) that councell of

his was maynely withstood by the generall voyce of the cittie, and those his forces diverted for another enterprise against their enemyes att Mangalore ; which wee rather beleeve to be Xelon, inasmuch as their overthrow there is confirmed againe by other advices.' The match required has been sent down this evening. Commend their frugality in bread, wine, etc. 'But your chirurgions dyet of burned wine to men sicke of the flux is by the phisitions of this country held rather poysonous then cureable ; which some of us in our owne experiences have found true.' (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

'THE PROCEEDINGS WITH THE GREAT GOVERNOR, MEIRZA ROSBAHAN, AT PAUREQUA,' NOVEMBER 22, 1630 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix. p. 157).[1]

They have been to 'the Great Governor' to procure leave to embark their cloth at Petapoli, but he refused to permit this unless they paid customs there for the whole, in addition to 'portsise of Mesulapatam'. Understanding, however, that a great present might induce him to alter his mind, they have treated with the Governor of Masulipatam, offering the latter a suitable recompense and promising to give Mīrzā Rōzbihān two pieces of broadcloth. Permission has thus been obtained, but they have been obliged to surrender 'the Pettipuly cowle', which, however, 'was of no validity to us'. (4 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO NATHANIEL MOUNTNEY AND OTHER FACTORS AT CAMBAY AND AHMADĀBĀD, NOVEMBER 22, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 91).

Had hoped to send them a parwāna from the Governor of Surat to his deputy at Cambay, enjoining him to assist the English ; but owing to the Governor's absence this has had to be deferred. Are in treaty for the purchase of the *Coco-nut* bark, and expect to arrange matters, though the owner is 'a perverse knave'. Urge

[1] Signed by Willoughby, Read, and Grove, at Masulipatam. This is a transcript (made in 1788) from the original, now lost. The official's name seems to have been Mīrzā Rōzbihān. He is mentioned as Governor of Masulipatam in the Batavia *Dagh-Register* for 1631–4, p. 45. The place has not been identified, but was probably near that town.

the completion of their investments and the timely dispatch of their goods. Purchase of 'picherees' [*cf. the* 1618–21 *volume*, pp. 63, 93], 'joorees,' and 'tapuchindas'; also of cinnamon and coffee. Regret that the bargain for sugar, etc., was not completed before the factors left Ahmadābād. There is a rumour that the Portuguese are planning a fresh attack upon the fleet. The early dispatch of their accounts is much desired. (*Copy. 2 pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Factors at Broach, November 23, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 93).

The caravan from Ahmadābād has just arrived at 'Raneil' [Rānder]. Request them to write to the factors at Baroda to apply to the deputies of 'Delill Ckaun' [*see* p. 95] for the restoration of the 42 fardles of saltpetre detained at 'Bilparr' [Bhilāpur, about 12 miles south of Baroda]. Note a payment on account to 'Sourge Nack' [Sūrjī Nāik]. Their bill for 25,000 mahmūdīs has been accepted and paid. Dispute with the Deputy Governor of Broach regarding some wheat bought by the English. Directions for charging customs, etc., in their accounts. (*Copy. 1¼ pp.*)

The Same to the Commanders at Swally, November 23, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 94).[1]

'Yesternight being to meet this Governour, now returned this second tyme from Belsara [Balsār], where he hath made a finall conclusion of peace with the Portingalls, besides divers discourses occasioned by himselfe, wee had afterwards private conference with the Shawbander and Herivassee (who were co-actors with him in the treaty); and though [we] are ascertained from their severall informacions (haveing visited them each apart) that the strength of Ruifrera doth consist only of 8 frigats and 2 fustoes from Muscat and 14 others of the former rout, yet Herivassee, a man of secret intelligence with the Portingalls, did not let with double itteracion to importune and recomend a carefull watch aboard your shipps, especially by night, as if he would seeme to intimate some practise intended which himselfe was loath to utter; and makes it still

[1] Printed by Mr. Forrest at p. 13 of the work already mentioned.

doubtfull the conjoyning of greater forces, with the Vice-King himselfe in person, yet still affirmes them to be very weake and miserable.' Hari Vaisya also told them that among the Portuguese prisoners in the hands of the English is one 'of especiall noate and quallity', for whose escape a plan has been arranged with 'some Parseis or Muccadams [village headmen: Hind. *muqaddam*] there about Swally', the idea being to get him away (with the connivance of certain Englishmen) in one of the boats of the fleet or 'a small almadee[1] of the Portingalls'. A Portuguese priest arrived here last night to manage the plot. Steps should be taken to identify the person referred to and prevent his escape. In view of the possibility of an attack, they should be careful not to have more goods on the Marine than they can take on board in the day; the carters will be instructed, therefore, to stay at Swally for orders. In flooring the *Discovery* and *Reformation* with pepper, only the thickness agreed upon in consultation should be permitted, for that commodity must not be allowed to take up room which could be utilized for more profitable goods. They should then calculate what further space is available for pepper, 'to the filling up only of the quentings[2] where no other goods can be put.' Similarly for saltpetre, after two or three hundred bales have been stowed, notice should be given to Surat what further quantity is necessary for ballast. (*Copy.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO JOHN NORRIS AND OTHER FACTORS AT BROACH, NOVEMBER 24, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 96).

The President, on looking over the market books produced by the Broach broker, discovered that they were not the originals but freshly prepared versions. This the broker confessed, whereupon he was caused to write the enclosed letter to 'Tricom [Trikam Dās] his associate, requireing to be sent us (upon the instant receipt thereof) his cash booke, journall, and leidger, called by the names of Nanna Mel Dunnya [Guj. *nānā mel danīo*, daily cash book], Avera [*āvaro*, an account book], and Catta [*khātā*, ledger],

[1] Port. (from Arabic) *almadia*, meaning a raft, but commonly applied also to Indian small boats or canoes. Pyrard de Laval uses it as the equivalent of the Tamil *tōni*.

[2] An obscure word, probably allied to 'coign' ('quoin'). The meaning is obvious.

together with his washers booke and market bookes for the three last passed yeares.' Request that Trikam may be sent for and detained until he gives up the books required, which should be immediately forwarded to Surat. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet at Swally, November 24, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 96).

Have agreed with the owner of the 'vessell of timber', which should be surrendered accordingly. Are still negotiating for the purchase of the *Coco-nut*; and hope also to settle about the third frigate. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, November 25, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 97).

Acknowledge receipt of the list of the prisoners' names, which agrees with the former. Trust to get all the goods for England by the *Discovery* and *Reformation* passed through the customhouse to-morrow. Any unnecessary stores should be landed and taken to 'Damkah' [Damka, north-east of Swally], if of small account; but if of any importance, their disposal should be referred to Surat. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

The Same to the Factors at Cambay and Ahmadābād, November 25, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 98).

Note the progress of the sugar investment, but think that Rand should have informed them direct of his proceedings. As the ships are nearly ready to depart for Persia, no more sugar, sugar candy, or ginger should be bought. The offer from Cambay of 50 rupees per maund for quicksilver 'deserves not to be harkened at'. Inquire what stock there is in the market at that place. The treasure was sent straight to Ahmadābād because it was safer to adopt that course than to let it go by way of Cambay. Unless the cinnamon and coffee be dispatched immediately, they will come too late to be shipped for Persia this year. 'Wee are in hourely expectacion of a perwanna in your behalfes from this Governour, who but lately returned from Belsare hath concluded peace with the Portingalls and is repossest of the *Mushaheas* treasure againe; and as there are frigats past by this part towards Cambaya to receive theire caphila,

soe are there [some] appointed from hence to conduct hether the shipp and goods belonging to these people.' The money needed to complete their investments would have been sent up in rials by the convoy, 'had not the importunity of our creditors and this Governours avarice (in respect of his proffit accrewing by the mint) been a crosse thereunto.' Could not send more rupees than they did, owing to necessary disbursements at Surat and 'the slow dispatch of quoinage in the mint'. They have to provide 70,000 rupees for the payment of the debt of the Old Joint Stock, and about half as much more for goods for Persia, England, and Bantam. The patterns sent of dutties and baftas are approved, except that 'twixt the borders of each side and the midle parte within there is some difference in its finenesse'; when ordering, they must stipulate for greater uniformity. Desire information as to the proceedings of the Portuguese merchants at Cambay. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE FACTORS AT BARODA, NOVEMBER 26, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 100).

Acknowledge the receipt of their letter of the 18th. Trust to send them more money 'soe soone as wee may be furnished out of the taunksall [mint: Hind. *taksāl*] with rupees'. Desire particulars of the cloths already bought; also news concerning the saltpetre left at Bhilāpur. The broker will be called to account later for his neglect of their business and his underhand devotion to the Dutch. Goods received. The President thanks them for recovering his 'bucksha' [*see* p. 89]. The Frenchman, Monsieur 'Marreen', to whom they have entrusted it, has not yet arrived. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AT SURAT TO THE COMMANDERS OF THE FLEET AT SWALLY, NOVEMBER 26, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 101).

Complaints of the owner of 'the tymber frigat'. 'Cassidas' sent down to assist in satisfying him. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 26, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 102).

Have communicated to the Governor their information regarding the arrival of twelve [Portuguese] frigates. 'Merryman' should be banished from the ships, and no admittance given to the rest of his

crew. Their plan of 'entrenching your people on shoare, fortified with murtherers, etc., for their better defence,' has been approved by the Governor, and should be speedily put in practice. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to John Norris and other Factors at Broach, November 29, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 103).

Method of charging sums paid for customs. Repeat the demand for the brokers' books, but protest that they do not suspect the integrity of the factors in the matter. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

The Same to the Factors at Cambay and Ahmadābād, November 30, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 103).

Have received Mr. Mountney's letter from Cambay of the 24th, enclosing one to himself from Rand at Ahmadābād, dated the 21st. Blame the latter for not writing direct to Surat. Trust that the sugar and ginger have already been dispatched, as otherwise they may be too late for the fleet. 'Your treaty about the sale of our quicksilver will fall of itselfe'; will now wait for better markets, in view of the expected termination of the wars in the Deccan. Purchase of baftas and dutties. Express surprise at Rand's resentment of what he terms their 'invectives'; but as he may have written without due consideration they will 'burye these distasts in silence'. The cinnamon and coffee intended for Persia should be sent down immediately. In future, when drawing bills on Surat, a letter of advice should always be sent ('the usuall course of a marchant'), in which the rate of exchange should be inserted. Ruy Freire has departed with his frigates after a short stay. Some intercepted letters show that he was called away to defend the Portuguese 'caphila' against a great force of 'Mallabares' lying in wait for it. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

Consultation held aboard the *Royal James* by Matthew Morton, Matthew Wills, Michael Green, and John Roberts, November 30, 1630 (*O.C.* 1325).

Whereas on the 28th there was a difference between the crews of the barges of the *James* and the *Blessing*, the consequences whereof

might have been serious, it is ordered that the two men who began the dispute, John Tod and [*blank*], be ducked from the yardarms of their respective ships. (½ *p.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders at Swally, December 1, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 105).

Stowage of saltpetre and pepper. The calicoes, cotton yarn, and Agra indigo will be sent down immediately. The cotton yarn should be stowed on top, in order that it may be taken out and left at Gombroon, if necessary, to provide more room for silk. Send a couple of 'extravagant [i.e. wandering] sailours', viz. Philip Beck and Richard Worrell. The latter has been pardoned; but the former has run away three times and should be punished as an example. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

The Same to the Factors at Swally Marine, December 1, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 106).

Warn them to give a full and faithful account of all goods laden in the ships. No private goods for Persia should be allowed to go on board until all the Company's have been shipped, and in no case should cotton wool or tobacco be allowed to pester and fill up the ships. Any failure of duty on these points will be reported to the Company. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to William Fremlen and other Factors at Agra, December 2, 1630 (*Ibid.*, pp. 107, 110).[1]

Have received their letter of October 12, but nothing since; express surprise at this silence. Trust that they have procured an ample supply of indigo, for which purpose a further remittance of 20,000 rupees has been made by the Ahmadābād factors. Are in much need of the Agra account, for entry in the books here. The Dutch fleet has not arrived, and advices from Bantam make it doubtful whether it will come this year. 'Ruyfrero with eight frigats from Muscat is now at the Barr of Surrat, the rest of their armado being dispeeded unto severall imployments, namely, parte

[1] 'Dispeeded by the Dutch conveyance, with a bill [of] exchange [for] 30,000 rupees.' This letter has been entered twice by some mistake.

for Cambaya to receive their caphila (the *Mushawhees* treasure being returned and all other differences accorded) and parte (wee conceive) for Seylon, where what hath lately succeeded them, to their great dismay, an inclosed relacion will show you.' The fleet will sail for Persia in about twenty days. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders at Swally, December 3, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 109).

Would have sent an earlier reply to theirs of November 30, but it was unfortunately mislaid. Complain of 'that peremptory question of your unmannerly writer (for wee will not think it yours) to aske what should move us to soe unreasonable [a] request as the surrender of your prisoner'. Repudiate warmly the insinuation that their motion tends either to the Company's prejudice or the dishonour of their nation. They did their best 'to beate off the Governours importunitie, who, from an apprehencion of our discortesie therein, soone raised his passion into threats, which to appease, that it might not flow to the stopp and hinderance of the Companys affaires, which hethertoo hath had a more freer passage then ordinary, wee yeilded to his request, which (by your leaves) alsoe was noe such courtesie extraordinary in the requitall of the many honours and favours which he dayly bestowes upon us, the party being only a factor sent hither with divers goods from Chaull and recomended to severall marchants of this towne'. However, the Governor has now changed his mind and desires the detention of the prisoner; otherwise the President and Council would have insisted upon obedience to their instructions 'without such misbecoming articulacions'. Lading of the ships. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

The Same to the Factors at Masulipatam, December 3, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 112).

Acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Willoughby of November 2, and a packet for the Company. Answer certain minor points. Approve the continuance of the factory at Japara. Shipping for Bantam, etc. Cannot make any large remittance to the Coromandel factories, though they are willing to accept bills drawn there. 'Albeit that both you and wee are sencible of the

many confusions and not yet discernable prejudices which these intermixtures of Voyages will inevitably produce, yet will not the Generallitie in England give eare to their uniting againe into one joynt stock (whose very tytle is ominous to them) till themselves at home shall have tasted of these inconveniences wherewith their servants heare abroad are not [*sic*] actually conversant. Nor will it fall heavy alone on their trade, but on their shipping likewise, of which those to the southwards wee perceave to be in miserable plight, as well in want of men as what not of all manner of stores.' Identity of William Read. 'Your proposition to endeavour a treaty with that prince for the obtaining of such ample priviledges in the future setling of that trade of Mesulapatam as are granted to the Dutch were worth the charge and instant triall, were it probable that by treaty meerely it might be effected; but if by enforcement (which wee conceave was the course was held by the Dutch), now is noe tyme for such violent attempts, especially whilst wee trade thus in Voyages, seing that each Voyage doth applye itselfe to the attaynment of a particular good for that yeare only, not a generall benefit for aftercommers; which neverthelesse may be thought on for the future, when the trade of India shalbe reduced into its wonted frame; and to that end you may in the intrim informe yourselves by what manner of contrivements the Dutch have prevailed in their settling, for by their example you may be partly guided, when tyme and conveniencie shall thereunto invite you.' Number of factors to be employed at each station. 'We doe assigne unto Mr. Sill the cheife government and directorship of the affaires of those factories of Armagon and Mesulapatam, etc., and doe hereby invest him therein by the usuall tytle of Agent for the Coast of Coromondell.' Lawrence Henley to be second, at the increased salary of *66l. 13s. 4d.*, provided he agrees to remain three years longer. Ralph Cartwright, Nicholas Bix, and Thomas Grove appointed third, fourth, and fifth respectively. Should Henley refuse, Cartwright is to be second and Bix third; the choice of the fourth ('to precede Thomas Grove') is left to the discretion of the factors on the spot. Mr. Hunter is to go to the southwards. Thomas Tempest, though ordered home by the Company, may be retained if necessary, owing to the scarcity of able factors. For the same reason the discharge of others may be suspended for the

present. Purchase of pepper at Jambi. 'You may not expect any specie to be sent you from hence, where (besides the burden of these last exchanges) wee are too heavyly oprest allready with the Old Stockes debts, and (by reason of the warres with Decan and the neverlike dearth of these parts) can finde noe sale at all for commodities, which being a third parte of our cavidall this yeare out of England will the more add to our disabillities therein.' If the new rate they have placed on the 'pagode', viz. 9*s.* 4½*d.*, be its intrinsic value, there is nothing to be said against their calculations, but if (as is suspected here) it is too high, the Company will find that 'what is seemingly advanct in their gould' will be proportionately lost in the profit of the goods purchased therewith. 'The Companys incouragments doe consist rather in the substantiall benefit on their clothing to the southwards then a feigned profit in their specie, which, though a drugg at present, will have its rise againe, as the occasions of princes and other alteracions may administer. The charge which you propound for the continuance of Armagon factorie and secureing of the Companys both estate and servants lives, by mantayning of souldiers, fortifieing, etc., is of such waight and difficultie as we dare not resolve what yet to determine therein. For our more clearer satisfaccion, therefore, it is fit wee had a draught of its port and scituation: that wee be informed whether it be capable of great shipping or not: whether they or lesser vessells might ride safe under comaund of your ordnance, and might not make it their wintring place upon any occasion so requiryng: whether that residence might not altogeather excuse that other of Mesulapatam, or contrarywise why this latter might not excuse the former: and what may be the import of a whole yeares investment in Armagon, presupposing an intent of supplying you to the full of your owne demaunds; and, that accomplished, your reasons given how such large imployments shalbe disposed; for, unlesse you propose to yourselves such an extent of bussines in that place as may bare out soe vast an expence, you were better to abandon it altogether and keepe you to your former limits of Mesulapatam; which wee comend unto you to consider on; and be exact (wee pray) in your answeares, that wee build not on a wrong foundation.' Deplore the contest between Sill and Willoughby for 'preheminence'. 'To cleare all doubts, wee doe declare

Mr. Willoughbyes jurisdiccion (yet neverthelesse subordinate still to us) to be only Bantam, Jambee, Macassar, and Jappara, and to have no power at all in the ordering or directing of those affaires at Coramondell, whether for the Old or New [Stock], which have their dependencie meerely and imediatly on us for direccion, without any relacion att all to Mr. Willoughby.' The accusations of the latter against Sill and others in the matter of private trade (said to have amounted to 80,000 rials of eight) are so serious that certain interrogations are sent herewith,[1] answers to which are to be demanded from Willoughby and the rest in a general consultation. If Sill be found guilty, his exclusion from the Company's service will be justified; but sickness alone (the other reason urged by Willoughby) is not a sufficient ground for dismissing him. This letter has been forwarded, as desired, to Mīr Kamāldīn for conveyance to Armagon. The Dutch 'Comandore' is still confident that their fleet is coming, and this is now regarded as probable. The Portuguese have been quieter of late. They have eight or ten frigates, under Ruy Freire, at the Bar of Surat, 'where they attend on divers junckes belonging to these marchants, who have lately compounded a peace with the Portingalls, both haveing made interchangeable surrenders, th'one of the caphila in Cambaya and the other of the surprized juncke and treasure. The King still prosecutes his warrs with Decan, and hath lately atcheived a petty victory against Ckaun Jehaun.' The fleet sails for Persia about the 26th or 27th. (*Copy.* 6 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM, DECEMBER 4, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 118).

Forgot to ask 'in what denominacion of specie wee shall henceforwards correspond with you in our accompts', and what rate is to be assigned to the rial of eight, if Willoughby's 'late altred valuacion of the pagode' be maintained. The choice of the Council at Bantam and of factors for the subordinate stations is left to the determination of a general assembly of the Company's servants at Bantam. There should be 'no distinction of servants or devision of househoulds' between the several stocks, 'all being equally engaged

[1] They are entered after the next letter, but are of no general interest.

to either, and ought indifferently to have an impartiall care unto both the one and other, as belonging (in effect) to one and the same proprieters.' (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to Nathaniel Mountney and other Factors at Ahmadābād, December 5, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 120).

A parwāna from the Governor of Surat ('very effectually written') has lately been sent to Cambay. Urge the speedy dispatch of their goods. Had already heard of 'the Dutch caphilas stopp on the way twixt Agra and Amad[avad]'. No reply has been received from the Agra factors to the President's letter of September 30; desire them therefore to make no further remittance to that place for the present. The Ahmadābād accounts came to hand last night. *PS*.—Have just received Rand's letter of November 25. The messenger to whom it was entrusted was murdered (with six others) by thieves 'on this side Chahonda'.[1] (*Copy*. 1¼ *pp*.)

The Same to [Thomas] Robinson and other Factors at Cambay, December 5, 1630 (*Ibid*., p. 121).

Enclose a letter for Ahmadābād, which has been left open for their perusal. Trust that their goods have been dispatched already. Send the desired parwāna. For the 'southerne investments' refer them to the list prepared at Surat and to Mountney's directions. In choosing commodities they should put little confidence in their brokers, 'who are ever falcest where they discerne most negligence.' (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

The Same to the Commanders at Swally, December 6, 1630 (*Ibid*., p. 122).

Are satisfied from their reply that their former letter was 'only clad into a more offencive habit of words' than was meant, and now assure them that in resenting such language the President and Council intended no discourtesy or discouragement to them. As the ships have taken in all the saltpetre required for ballast, no more will be sent down. Request a list of the numbers on the bales.

[1] Choranda, in Baroda territory, about twenty-five miles north-east of Broach.

Are forwarding 100 bags of pepper, and what more can be got shall follow. Expect that the calico, cotton yarn, and Agra indigo (456 fardles) already on the way or about to be dispatched will suffice to lade the ships; but desire the Commanders' opinions on this point. The pursers and their mates should be held responsible for the pepper bags, of which a great number have in previous years been spoilt or appropriated, thus causing needless expense to the Company. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

President William Hoare at Bantam to the Company, December 6, 1630 (*O.C.* 1326).

.... Dispatched the *Falcon* and *Dove* to the Coast of Coromandel on April 1, with gold, rials of eight, lead, etc., to the value of 48,520 rials $42\frac{5}{8}$. Refers to the register of letters, etc., for the appointment of Henry Sill as Agent to manage that voyage. . . . Sent letters by those ships for Surat, requesting to be furnished with goods to the value of 40,000 or 50,000 rials in a ship to be here in December or January, intending to return her the following July with a cargo of sandalwood, turtle-shells, and pepper. Four hundred tons of the last could be bought here for under 30,000 rials, whereas they would cost 64,000 at Surat; while the goods from thence would have realized almost double their cost in a short time. However, all their plans were upset by the failure of the Company to send shipping. . . . 'The King of Achin, having two yeares since beseiged Malacca, both by sea and land, received a greate overthrowe from the Portingalls sent thither to ytts releife; whereat impatient, he vowed revenge, and collecting this last yeare his whole power of vessells, ordinance, and more then 20 thousand men, imbarqued them to the ruein of Mallacha aforesaid; where allso ariveing, hee attempted, but fayling begirt yt agayne with a strong power, and for some moneths attended, eyther by force or famine to subvert yt. But the Vice-King of Goa, not ydle in itts succour, ymployed Don Alvera de Botelio with 80 sayle gallyes and frigotts of warr, with a competent nomber of soldiers, to that designe; who, incountring the said King [of] Achins forces, gave him a totall overthrowe, to the consumption and taking of all his vessells and ordnance, as allso losse of all his people except 16 men only, who afterwards ariveing at Achine in a prowe sent of purpose, the King

caused imediately to be slayne, for being messengers of soe evill tydings.[1] The said Don, having thus sett Malacca at liberty, and some moneths being yett to spend ere [he] could retourne to the northward, with his intire force in Aprill last addressed for Jambee, to doe what mischeife he might to both Dutch and English shipps in the roade and river, and then to fire their houses at the towne. God soe provided that none of yours were there, except the old *Coaster*, layd up in the river. The Dutch had two in the roade, one of which [was] burnt to the water; the other was taken, though with losse of most [of] their people and noe smale nomber of the Portingalls. Afterwards, goeing up the river, they fired the foresaid *Coaster* and tooke out of her four peeces ordinance, part of eight which were negligently left in her by the seamen at laying up. The Dutch had then two shipps ryding at the towne laden, and your factors had about 400 tonns pepper in their house; to secure both which the King joyned with the Dutch,[2] and haveing made the best praeparation they could for resistance, a prowe was by the Dutch and your people instantly dispeeded with advice hither and to Battavia, though with the cost of 200 rialls of eight; which arrived here the 16th Aprill about midnight, and was the same hower sent for Battavia; which prowe the 21th ditto retourned agayne in the night likewise, and was as sodainely sent away for Jambee with verball comforts only, our poore meanes affoording noe other meanes of releife; by which tyme the Dutch had fitted and dispeeded thither five sayle men of warr, commaunded by Signor Flack,[3] one of Counsell, aswell to secure their shipp *Walkeren*, few dayes before sent thither with a cargazoon of 50,000 rialls, as to assist their other two and to releive the towne of Jambee. In this interim the Portingalls came up the river; but being repelled by the force and fortifications of the King and Dutch, they retorned without performing anythinge; but at the rivers mouth encountred the aforesaid *Wallkeren*, whome oppressing with multitudes, after shee had thrice blowne up, at last themselves fired their powder roome, to the utter consumption of all, both shipp, goods, and men

[1] See Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. iii. p. 444.

[2] For some correspondence between the King and the Portuguese commander see nos. 84 i–iv and 85 i–iv in vol. iv of the *East Indies* series at the Public Record Office.

[3] Pieter Vlack, Member of Council at Batavia, 1626–34.

in her. The Portingalls had a deere bargaine, and in the attempt Don Alvera Botelio himselfe allso fell. Thus left they that coast and departed. Five dayes after which Flack arived, who, finding them gone, dispersed four of his fleete to Syam and other places, and himself retourned in a single shipp for Battavia without further seeking the enemy or discoveringe his aboade; which was ill taken, and begott him some disrespect with the Generall.' . . . Encloses a letter of July 9, 1630, lately received from Surat. . . . On October 28 the *Dove* arrived from the Coast of Coromandel with a well-assorted cargo amounting to 32,405 rials 39⅔, bringing also letters from the Company and news that the *Star* had reached Masulipatam. They were much disappointed on finding the Old Stock scarcely named in those advices. Had sufficient money and shipping been sent to Bantam, this and next year's returns would have equalled or exceeded the whole of the new subscription. . . . The factors at Masulipatam wrote that the *Falcon* might be expected by the end of November, and that they hoped to invest all the remains of the Second Joint Stock. . . . The order that the *James* is to return to Surat from Bantam will either necessitate her remaining a year longer or expose her to a late and dangerous arrival in England. . . . 'How your factors formerly relinquisht Mesulapatam, Mr. Brewen and others ymployed in that designe have we trust long since ascertayned [you]. How lately we contrived to vissitt and negotiate agayne with those people, our commission given them (as said before) will shew.' . . . 'From Armagon and Mesulapatan we have received one allready, and by Gods blessing expect another, good and well sorted cargazoon, not very deare, considering the tymes, though your Stock and Second Generall Voyage, the Netherlands Company, the free burghers of Battavia, and a little before the Danes Generall, have all togeather beene in the markett and made a greater investment then in five yeares before.' . . . News received that the Portuguese intend to attack the English ships at Surat. Trusts they will be able to repel any such attempt, though no aid will be available from the Dutch, who have sent no shipping thither this year. . . . David Gelly died at Masulipatam about August 20 last. . . . (*Extracts only.* 3½ *pp.* *Received October* 10, 1631.)

The President and Council at Surat to John Norris and other Factors at Broach, December 6, 1630 (*Bombay Record Office: Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, vol. i. p. 123).

Have received their letter with the broker's market books, which shall be examined when leisure can be obtained. Must leave them to get permission to buy the corn; if necessary, a petty bribe should be given. Have lately bought 126 corge of blue baftas, and hope to make up the number to 200. This will diminish the quantity to be bought at Broach. 'The friggats have altogeather forsaken us, and wee are now againe in quiet.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to Nathaniel Wyche and other Factors at Baroda, December 6, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 124).

Require an explanation of a phrase used in their letter of November 30; if the price of coarse calico has really risen by a mahmūdī per piece (as seems to be implied) it may be necessary to suspend their investments until the market is more reasonable. Hope to send them 8,000 or 10,000 rupees by a caravan which the Dutch intend to dispeed in a day or two; and will make further remittances as opportunities occur. Will investigate their complaints againt 'Calliangee' when the departure of the fleet gives them leisure. As the factors have failed in their endeavours to recover the 42 bales of saltpetre detained by 'the Rajah of Bilpare' [*see* p. 100], the President has written the enclosed letter to him, 'wherein he is put in minde of the auncient freindshipp and faithfull corespondencie which was ever held twixt the English and his father, whose writing is yet extant, oblidging himselfe to protect our caphilaes from losse or hindrance in their passage that waye, and in the performance thereof was ever just and noble unto us, even to the satisfying of goods robde by other extravigants, much more in defending us from damage amongst his owne people and within the same jurisdiction.' Gurdās has written to the same purpose. If these produce no effect, representations should be made to 'that Governour there' [at Baroda ?], with a hint that, if he declines to assist them, complaint will be made 'where wee may have hopes of better right'. *PS.*—Their letter of the 4th has just come to hand, from which they find that they misunder-

stood the reference to the rise in price; the factors should therefore go on buying. The Dutch fleet has not yet arrived. The application of Henry Graves for an increase in salary shall be considered at the next consultation. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE COMMANDERS AT SWALLY, DECEMBER 7, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 126).

Promise to settle with the owner of the frigate, even if they have to pay more than they intended. The fitting of her may therefore be commenced at once. Will send down more pepper daily, as it is safer and more profitable to fill up vacant spaces with that than with cotton wool. (*Copy. Damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AT SURAT TO NATHANIEL WYCHE AND OTHER FACTORS AT BARODA, DECEMBER 8, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 127).

Forwards a bill of exchange for 600 rupees, payable by 'Govengee Lalgee' [Govanjī Lāljī]. (*Copy.* ¼ *p.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO [THOMAS] ROBINSON AND OTHER FACTORS AT CAMBAY, DECEMBER 9, 1630 (*Ibid.*, p. 127).

Send a transcript of a previous letter, to be dispeeded to Ahmadābād. 'The armada of frigats is lately past by for Cambya, whose proceedings there when arrived wee shall expect to heare, and to receive therewithall a breife list of what they either import or export from thence; as also advice of the quantitie of eliphants teeth, etc., formerly arrived, and so successively [of any] other that shall arrive hereafter. Our intelligence from Rajapore [doth] resolvedly assure us of the Vice-Kings prep[aracion to] addresse for these parts with all the force [? he can make, which is] said to consist of 120 frigats when met tog[ether] and two other vessells well furnished with ordnance; and missing of our shipps here at Surat are to follow them to the Gulph of Persia, there to practice their exployts and to attempt the recovery of Kishmee and Ormous Castle. This in part is confirmed from Dam[on] by other advices, and will cause our dispaches the sooner, for secureing of the Persian cavidall and advertising to our freinds the Persians.' (*Copy. Damaged.* ¾ *p.*)

President Rastell at Surat to John Bangham at Swally Marine, December 13, 1630 (*O.C.* 1327).

The cloth belonging to 'Tusherif Chaun' [Tashrīf Khān] may be shipped, reserving one fardle of each until Rastell's arrival to decide the question of the freight. As for the bales of others, he should weigh them when he suspects deceit. The entries in the customhouse shall be sent as soon as possible. The letters interchanged should be kept for subsequent registration. 'Lett the goods of Mydass [Mahī Dās], the broker of Isack Beage [Ishāq Beg], have favour in their dispatch, I pray, for I am behoulding unto him for intelligence.' (*Seal, with the Company's arms. Received December* 14. ½ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, December 16, 1630 (*O.C.* 1319).

Approves of what he has done touching the goods of 'Tushreife Chaune'. Instructions for dealing with those of 'Mydas Molea' [Mahī Dās Mūla]. Will deal with 'the malefaccion [evil-doing] of the *James* her ghinge' [ging or crew]. The value of the purloined goods shall be paid to the owners and the offenders punished in their presence. (*Seal, with the Company's arms. Received December* 17. 1 *p.*)

The Same to the Same, December 20, 1630 (*O.C.* 1328).

He is to hold the Persians, etc., to such fitting terms for freight that no accusation can be made of carelessness or partiality. No goods are to be accepted without tickets. Vīrjī Vōra's entry in the customhouse has been sent by the broker. (*Received December* 21. ½ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, December 22, 1630 (*O.C.* 1329).

Perceives from his letter the delay of the Persians, etc., in shipping their goods. None to be embarked without Rastell's ticket. Gurdās professes to have sent the customhouse entries. Wonders to learn that the three ships can only take about 1,200 parcels, and suspects 'some exorbitance in private trade, which becomes not your concealement, who cannott but be privie thereunto'. Expects due information, and charges him to press the commanders to help in advancing the Company's freight. Has

issued tickets for 1,424 parcels, whereas Bangham mentions only 937; this should be looked to. Encloses particulars of tickets issued, for comparison with Bangham's list. (*Seal.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, DECEMBER 24, 1630 (*O.C.* 1330).

Is amazed to find the commanders so much mistaken in their first computations of their stowage room. If any gross abuse in private trade be the cause, Bangham may tell them that Rastell is determined to 'call it to account'. They should be shown this letter, and urged to be more careful of the Company's benefit. Desires information as to the room still left in the *Discovery* and *Reformation.* The goods remaining for Persia make 771 parcels in all, which will be little more than half the bulk of the silk to be taken in at Gombroon; so Rastell expects to find good assistance 'towards the pleasureing of these Moores'. Only the goods of 'our greatest freinds of noate' should be shipped pending further instructions. 'Tusheriff Ckaunes' three bales should be put on board, or Rastell will 'have noe peace with this Governour. I pray tell Capt. Morton that the Dutch and all other Cristians here are our sollemnely invited guests to-morrow, and we shall want the musicke to grace out our entertainement. Intreat him therefore to send them up instantly (or soe many of them as are well).' (*Seal, with the Company's arms. Received same day.* 1 *p.*)

THE SAME TO CAPTAIN BICKLEY [AT SWALLY], DECEMBER 24, 1630 (*O.C.* 1331).

The cotton yarn should not be shipped, pending the arrival of other goods intended for Persia. The latter should be put on board first, in order to ascertain how many bales of silk can be stowed in the two ships. Thereupon he will determine whether the cotton yarn should be taken or not. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

HENRY SILL, CHRISTOPHER READ, AND NICHOLAS BIX AT ARMAGON TO [THE BANTAM FACTORS], DECEMBER 27, 1630 (*O.C.* 1332).

The departure of the *Falcon* has been delayed by foul weather and the bad dealing of the Governors of Masulipatam and Petapoli. Send copies of their last letter, with the bill of lading, etc. Their

hopes of a better cargo than that sent by the *Dove* have been frustrated. The woven cloth of this place is particularly bad now. 'Yet cannot wee justly blame our heere merchants, if wee conscider the dearenes of cotton, beeing fower times the price of former times and yeares, with the extraordinarie dearth and famine that hath predominated over all these partes, which hath consumed, meerely through want of sustinance, in each towne and villadge soe many of the people (and espetially the poorer sorte) as allmost incredible to reporte, were not ourselves spectatours. But to recount the many miseries in theis parts this yeare would better becom a historie then a letter of advise. And should the goodnes of the cloth have bin corrispondent to former times, our price must have followed; which wee verry well know the condicions of these people [i.e. the purchasers in the Far East] to bee such that they would not bee drawne thereto; whoe rather rule themselves by an accustomed price then the goodnes of the commoditie they buy; neyther can they bee sencible of its heere dearth and scarecetie when the Dutch and wee shall fill our there factories (which this yeare will bee) as if noe obstacles were heere to the contrarie. Heerewith wee send you coppies of our President and Councell at Suratt their letters to us heere, whereby you will understand that this plague of dearth and famine hath soe fully possest those parts as to make them doubt the loosing of a monsoone for England.' The Company's letters will apprise them of 'the diverting of your there Presidencie to an Agencie, of which title this place is dispossest (as is but reason), with order heerafter to give an accompt to the President and Councell in Suratt.' Send copy of their general letter to that place, and refer to the bearer, Lawrence Henley, for further information about affairs on this coast. Lading of the *Falcon*. Division of the Masulipatam charges between the two stocks. Request advice of how the several goods sent in the *Dove* and this ship find vent. Money due from a native merchant to be recovered and transmitted to Surat. Satisfaction to be given to the Dutch for a cable supplied to the *Falcon*. Passage granted to two Danish merchants, one of whom rendered them great service in a dispute at Petapoli; they desire to go to Macassar, to meet their General. Three Danish soldiers also given passages to Bantam. They had been enlisted 'in the time of the Portugall

forces uppon this coast', but since dismissed, owing to the Company's order that none shall be admitted into their service except with their approval; and owing to the famine they have petitioned to be taken out of the country. (*Copy. Received at Bantam February* 11, 1631. 2 *pp.*)

President Rastell at Surat to John Bangham at Swally Marine, December 29, 1630 (*O.C.* 1333).

The bales complained of for their magnitude belong to their best friends, the Shāhbandar, 'Meirzedalee [? Mīrzā Alī], Salle Mahmud [Sālih Mahmūd], Agigialla [Azīzullāh], the Governours brother, etc.,' and must be laden on board some ship even if part of the Company's cotton yarn be left behind, 'the faire passage and nimble dispatch of our business this yeare in generall having deserved farr greater courtesie.' Preference in lading to be given to certain persons. *PS.*—Thirteen more fardles belonging to 'Agigialla' to be shipped. *PPS.*—Certain other goods to be laden. (*Seal, with the Company's arms.* 1 *p.*)

President Rastell and Messrs. Hopkinson, Bickford, and Suffield at Surat to [the Commanders of the Fleet from England][1], December 31, 1630 (*O.C.* 1334).

Are aware of the Company's orders limiting the stay of the fleet at the Comoros, in expectation of the *William* and *Blessing*, to July 10 next. These ships would have been sent direct to meet them, but it has been found necessary to dispatch them first to Bantam, in company with the *James*, for her better defence against the Portuguese. Have therefore sent the present 'advizor' to acquaint them of this and to require them to wait at the Comoros until August 20, by which time the Bantam fleet has orders to join them there. In the event of the latter failing to appear by that date, they must proceed alone to Persia and land their cargoes designed for that country. They should wait there for the Bantam fleet until October 20, and then come on to Surat, without meddling with any of the estate of the First or Second Voyage in Persia. They are entreated to be very wary of the 'stratagems by fire plots' of the Portuguese; 'and having to deale with frigotts, to

[1] The endorsement says: 'directed to Capt. Weddalls fleete'; but this is a mistaken inference.

bee well furnished with stones in your shipps topps and other places, with halfe tubbs of water in all parts of your shipps, and with firepotts to answere them in their owne element, as in your better judgments shall seeme convenient. Your people also of all degrees to be daily disciplined and exercised to their smale shott, which must now serve you to most principall use, as by this yeares service wee have with good successe experienced. And lastly, it would behoove you during your abode about theis [Comoro] Ilands to be alwayes vigilant, with your shipps priddy[1] and ordenance cleere upon all occasions in expectance of the enemyes soddaine encounter there; where it is supposed they intend some exploite, if not this, yett the next yeare, upon our outward bound shipps, and wee wonder they have thus longe neglected so faire an opportunity.' (*Copy. Received, June* 20, 1634,[2] *from Plymouth out of Capt. Quail's ship.* 2 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND MESSRS. HOPKINSON, BICKFORD, AND SUFFIELD AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 31, 1630 (*O.C.* 1335).[3]

Send a copy of the last letter from this place, dated April 12, 1630; also of one written by the President from the Bay of St. Augustine on July 26. He left that place on July 27, with the *James*, *William*, and *Blessing*, and proceeded to Johanna, where he met the *Discovery* and *Reformation*. Finding that time would not permit of their going first to Persia, all five ships came straight to Surat, arriving on September 22. Trouble with the Portuguese frigates. 'Forasmuch as these frigats, not many dayes before, had made seazure of the *Musshawhee* (a junck of this place), returned rich with treasure, etc., from Mocha, and for that these marchants were in dayly expectacion of their greater shipp *Shawhee*, with a wealth by farr surpassing the other, the feare of whose miscariage also did not a little perplex them, wee, uppon their generall petitionary importunitys and to endeare them the more to our freindship (especially upon the President, Mr. Rastell, his first establishment), were moved to send out the whole fleet againe in quest of the

[1] An old sea term meaning 'ready', 'in good order', etc.

[2] The same endorsement appears on other letters, but it is clear that Quail's ship reached Plymouth in 1633.

[3] A copy, with marginal abstracts, forms *O.C.* 1336.

Shawhee; who off of Damon, being followed by the frigats, had occasion given to spoile two or three of them with their great ordnance, and therewithall slew some of their people, whose certaine nomber they have concealed. The 14th of October following our fleet againe returned; and being gotten into the Hole of Swally, were soone visited againe by the frigats; who, in the intrim of our discharging treasure, landed divers of their souldiers, which ours as suddainly confronted; but as then not any thing attempted. Neverthelesse, the next day ensuing, being Saboth (and the President, etc., yet aboard), their Captain Maior, with the Vice-Kings sonne and about 160 souldiers well armed, comes the second tyme on shoare, and now somewhat neerer our tents then before; when upon the instant (not having tyme to consult) wee enordered a like nomber of our choycest musketteirs, and the comaunders (thereto importunatly willing of themselves) to be their leaders for their better incouragment in the encounter; who, deviding their number into three squadrons, deceived the enemy with the one of them only in sight, whilst the other two were marcht about the sandhilles, and afterwards rejoyning all into one body againe at an apointed distance, with very good discipline were (by the enemyes retreate to the water side) now engaged within pistoll shott of their frigats, the Portingall haveing purposly so contrived it, in strong confidence of their owne shelter and the galling of our English with their ordnance. But ours very providently perceaving that but three of their prowes could offend them, and those also so ill plied as, for feare of their owne, they could not well damnifie our people, they feircly entred amongst them and in the very face of their vessells pursued them into the water chin deep; where with admirable resolucion they so prosecuted their fury that even to the frigats sides they continued the slaughter; and haveing massacred the greater part, whereof many by small shot and others at handy blowes with their swords and musket stocks, returned with a glorious victory and 27 Portingalls brought off alive their prisoners. This they happily performed (without other harme then [*blank*] men wounded and one man suffocated only with heate) in the sight of divers Mogulls and other these country people, who, in admiration of so strange a manner of fight, have disperced their letters both to the court and severall parts of this kingdome, and were pleased

to aver the like battaile to have never bin seene, heard of, or ever read off in storyes; which wee have embouldened to insist on the more, by how much it hath added more to our nations fame then hath all our sea fights formerly acquired here in India. And, as for this greate blessing, so must wee yet add our further acknowledgment to the same God, by whose good providence also your ships within a few dayes after were wonderfully delivered from their maine plotted stratagem by fire; which at a darke moone, observing their advantage of winde and tide, they put in execution the 24th at night; having for that purpose prepared four vessells stuft up with combustable matter, which, chained two and two together and brought on with their frigats within a reasonable distance, they fired and let drive amongst our fleet. But our people being nightly vigilant and ever ready prepared, with their boats well mand ahead of the ships, very bouldly with their grapnells fastened on the fier boats, which being towed, two of them on the shoare and other two on the sands, there fruitlessly spent themselves, to the enemyes great appall and our peoples greater joy, who for many nights before had even tired out themselves with watching to accomplish this great prevention. These were the disturbances which your President, etc., were to struggle with at their first arrivall. And not these alone, but others also, though not so daungerous, yet difficult too, by reason of an universall dearth over all this continent, of whose like in these parts noe former age hath record; the country being wholy dismanteled by drougth, and to those that were not formerly provided noe graine for either man or beast to be purchast for money, though at seavenfould the price of former tymes acustomed; the poore mechaniques, weavers, washers, dyers, etc., abandoning their habitacions in multitudes, and instead of releife elcewhere have perished in the feilds for want of food to sustaine them. Hence it came to pass that for many dayes after our arrivall there were noe carts or beasts of burden to be had upon any condition whatsoever; by which meanes for a while wee were greatly hindred in the usuall prosecution of our bussines, till from the inland countrye (where was some better plenty for cattell) wee were otherwise provided.' In this interim they allotted to the factors their respective employments, framed their instructions, and supplied them with the necessary means; besides sending orders and advices

to the Coast and to the southwards. Now proceed to answer such points in the Company's letter of March 9, 1630, as are pertinent to them. Are fully sensible of the hazard caused by the late dispatch of the ships from India, and to prevent it this year have arranged that the fleet for England shall go straight home from Persia. This will prevent their losing the monsoon; and although it will expose the three vessels which are to return to this port to great risk from the Portuguese (the Viceroy being daily expected with 120 frigates, five galleys, and some fresh fireboats, and there being no news of the Dutch fleet from Batavia), yet it is the lesser evil of the two. Have used all possible endeavours to prevent the cutting open of the bales of calico, either by the natives or by the English. Thought it best to land their small stock of gold here rather than send it to Persia. It is now somewhat fallen in price, 'by reason of this extraordinary dearth before touched, the richer sort falling short of their wonted incomes and profitts, and are therefore disabled of the meanes to buy and hourd up gould as in former tymes; and contrarywise the poorer people constrained to sell their goulden jewells to buy them food; which neverthelesse may not discourage your future supplyes in that specie, which will allwayes render you more profitt then ryalls, though therein you may please not to exceed above one-third gould and two-thirds ryalls, as being the fittingest proporcion in both as will best accomodate our occacions. The power which you are pleased to confer upon us, the better to restraine your sea commanders in their profuse expence of fresh victualls and extraordinary provizions in your ships, shalbe used with such discretion and waryness that, as we shall strive to conforme them to such fitting regularity therein as may owne the name of good husbandry, soe shall wee confine ourselves to a moderate lymit in the due execution of what may be urgently requisite in case of inconformity. Mr. Wildes proposition of setling a residency in Sinda hath bin a dispute of long antiquity, and therein such difficultyes doe present themselves as it stands not with your safety to wade to farr in that bussines, were it for noe other reason then the unaccessableness of your shipps to comand that shoare; which indeed was the mainest obstacle why there was not an established factory in that place long heretofore. And to transport any goods from thence by land to Surat hath in it soe much danger

and incertaynty, besides an excessive charge, that will render it altogether unprofitable.' Refrain from expressing an opinion regarding Boothby's case, as the Company have the means of forming their own judgements upon it. Note the orders regarding the Surat Council. Part of the money assigned to Persia has been invested in sugar, dry ginger, coffee, cinnamon, etc., 'for an entrance into that trade, so benefitiall unto others, and hetherto so much neglected for your better behoufes, which for the future we intend to goe still augmenting as wee finde incouragment thereunto.' Some of the goods assigned to Persia for presents are detained by the Governor of Surat. 'Wee have acquainted your servants here in the Mogulls country with the authorytye which you have been pleased to confer on Mr. Thomas Rastell, your President, for the generall direction and ordering of all your affaires in India; and have signified the like to our freinds at Musilpatam, as also your wills concerning the suppression of the Presidencie in Bantam and the frustrating of the power of judicature wherewith that President and Councell was formerly invested.' As regards the provision of goods for England, they have ordered 20,000 or 30,000 additional pieces of white calico, as the scarcity of Sarkhej indigo necessitates a reduction under that head. Have instructed the factors to buy no cloth that is deficient in length or breadth, and to pay attention to 'the closse making and foulding up of their broad and narrow baftaes', and also to their packing in proper fashion. Have ordered some Ahmadābād 'duttyes and narrow baftaes . . . but with caution that by altering of the weavers loomes they procure the long baftaes to be of equall breadths with those of Baroch, and their duttyes of full yard broad and 12 yeards long.' 'With symianoes or surreas, whether broad or narrowe, nether yet with capporees, populees, hassanees, or chuckarees, wee intend not to meddle untill your further order to the contrary; but of broad nickanees, thred tapceele, keeses blew and white, and those others also of the finer sort, you may expect to be furnished, both for quantity and quallity, agreeing with your owne direccions. And for callicoe lawnes or shashes, namely, sallowes, guldares, sursalles, and cuscosees, etc., wee will desist in the buying of any more untill you may be better confirmed in the sale of those already sent home; which, if transferd for Turkey, wee are confident would yeeld good

proffit and vend in infinite quantities; for evidence whereof you may please to observe that they are the cheifest comodities wherein the Persians and Armenians who takes yearely passage on your shipps doe invest great summes of mony here in India; some of them makeing instant sale thereof att Gumbroone, from whence they are dispersed and sould againe to second marchants in Spahan, Balzar [Basrā], Bagdat, etc., who transport them yet further for a third markett at Constantynople and other places, at extraordinary charge of camellhier, customes, and other exactions on the way; and yet every of these, at the first, second, and third hand, doe become great gainers and make it their constant trade of liveing. Now, the premises considered, wee see noe reason why their should not be a divertion of this great traffique (thus expensive by land) by your less chargeable conveyance by sea (at least for a good partt thereof), as hath ben brought to passe allready for those great quantityes of indicoe and callicoes wherewith you now dayly furnish those forraigne parts yourselves, which in the selfe same kinde by land hath been formerly performed by others. Your commission injoyning a large investment this yeare in both sorts of indicoe, that wee might the better make choyce of the fewer quantities of callicoes required, is greatly crost by the great want of raines in these partts, especially about Amadavad, where their this yeares whole cropp on the ground is not likely to produce above two or three hundred fardles, which in former tymes hath not been soe little as 4 or 5,000. And for that of the passed yeares growth, the many buyers, as well Dutch as Persians, Armenians, etc., having furnished themselves with the choycest ware at excessive high rates, there is left but a poore remaines of refuse stuff behinde, enough only for this countryes service, and yet that not to be purchast under 18 rupes the maund; which therefore wee determine not to meddle with, though at farr lesse rates, in respect of its badd condition.' In lieu of Sarkhej they will send an increased quantity of Biāna indigo. If they buy any gum-lac they will be careful as to the quality; but they think it can be got better at Masulipatam. In each ship they will send a quantity of doubly refined saltpetre to serve as ballast; will put as much as possible into casks, but cannot thus pack the whole. Cotton yarn shall be provided as far as space is available in the absence of more valuable

goods; at present, owing to the dearth, both that and cotton wool are at double their usual prices. Will send no spikenard, sugar, dry ginger, aloes Socotrina, quilts, or carpets until further orders. As regards the long pepper bought here for the Company at 27 mahmūdīs per maund, while the mariners procured some at 10 mahmūdīs, they explain that the latter was of a meaner sort, obtained at Bantam, 'which this here doth farr transcende in goodness.' Note the orders concerning green ginger and bloodstones. 'Cinamon being a bulkey comoditie, and deare withall, is more fitt for Persia, but not profitable hence for England.' As the *James* is to call at Surat on her way back from Bantam it will be cheaper to procure a lading of pepper from that place; and on her arrival part of her cargo can be shot loose into the holds of the other ships (to fill up vacant spaces), and the room thus left can be utilized for richer goods. Have ordered the factors, in packing their goods, to use the best cotton wool and dutties. Have forbidden the shipment of oil, to avoid damage by leakage. Note the instructions regarding the 1630 and 1631 fleets. Most of the factors called home for private trading, etc., have already gone on the *Charles* and *Jonas*. Have been obliged to detain Skibbow (who is one of those named) because his accounts are not yet completed. They have found him both temperate and discreet; and although he is not one of the three selected for the Council, yet in consideration of his position and long service he is permitted to take part in their consultations. Barber is returning in these ships (if he can finish his accounts in time); and as Richard Predys and William Price died before the arrival of the fleet, they are so shorthanded that they are obliged to detain Thomas Wilbraham and Richard Belfield to assist them. One, if not two factors, must necessarily follow the court, 'for the opposing of complaints and the solliciting of other occasions'; but when the King returns to Agra this expense can be saved, as the factors resident there can undertake the duty. Persia and the southern factories are still worse off as regards assistants. In the case of the former, captains' boys and other young men have been taken on shore for this purpose; but they shall now be replaced by pursers or pursers' mates. It will be more difficult to supply the southern factories; at present they are waiting to hear from Sill and his colleagues on the subject. The goods

already laden for Persia on the Company's account amount to 56,234 mahmūdīs. A further consignment, which has cost about 98,826 mahmūdīs, is on its way from Ahmadābād and Cambay, but they fear the ships will not be able to wait for it. Would gladly have enlarged the investment, 'did not both warr and famine even frustrate all hopes in the vend of our English comodities, whose provenu [produce] wilbe a great want unto us for the accomplishing of other investments.' Cannot tell who were the owners of the silk mentioned by Burt. The sword-blades sent for a trial are still detained in the customhouse; so it is impossible to say anything regarding their saleability. In case of transfer of stock, etc., from one Voyage to another, they will follow the directions given. Have laden on the *Discovery* and *Reformation* for England 456 fardles of Agra indigo, 579 bales of calico, 250 bales of cotton yarn, 597 bales of saltpetre (in lieu of ballast), and 4,509 maunds of Priaman pepper. These, with the 1,400 bales of silk expected to be shipped in Persia, will nearly equal the whole estate of the First Persia Voyage. The goods provided in India (as also 800 bales of Sarkhej indigo, to be sent home next year) have been bought partly with the money of the Second General Voyage; the cargoes must therefore be considered as sent on joint account, and the proceeds will have to be divided between the two Voyages. Cannot at present advise the exact proportion, but it will probably be two-thirds for the First Voyage and one-third for the Second. The Sarkhej indigo is kept back, partly to accelerate the dispatch of the ships, but chiefly to enhance its price at home, to compensate for the dear rates at which it has been bought here, viz. 16¼ rupees per maund. The calicoes, on the other hand, are cheaper than usual. The accounts now sent will show that they stand indebted (for the Old Stock) nearly 41,000*l.*, 'besides its dayly growth by the addition of intrest uppon intrest att 1⅛ per month.' Trust that the Company will take steps to discharge this liability, which is not only wasteful in itself but obliges them to conciliate their creditors to the prejudice of their business. At Bantam, on the other hand, the factors aver that they could lade with spices four of the Company's best ships, but have no means of transporting this wealth. Have written to Willoughby to lade in the *James* on her arrival at Bantam a consignment of pepper, etc., of the Old

Stock, to be used towards the discharge of the debts here; also, if necessary, to borrow a further quantity of the same pepper for the Second General Voyage, replacing it by the time any shipping arrives from England to receive the remains of the Old Stock. This arrangement will be beneficial to both stocks. Have also suggested to Willoughby that he should fill a small vessel with sugar (which can be bought at Bantam at half the price demanded in Surat) for Persia, returning by way of this place next autumn. In future any ship intended for the Coast of Coromandel should leave England not later than August. The *Star* was much hindered by her late arrival. Refer to Willoughby's letters for information as to her proceedings on the Coast. Are not yet satisfied that two residences are necessary there; 'though wee should be glad they might obtayne such immunities in Mesulapatam which the Dutch (if wee mistake not) did acquist by constraint and not by quiett treaty, yet wee shalbe very cautious how wee enter upon any great disbursements in fortifying att Armagon, unless there bee aparance of such hopes and benefitts thereby as may countervaile the charge and beare out that yearely expence of garrison proposed.' Have ordered an inquiry into the private trade of Sill and other factors. Think Willoughby mistaken in charging him with incapacity, as he seems from his letters to be a judicious and well-experienced merchant. Disapprove Willoughby's action in hiring a separate house at Masulipatam. Received letters of July 31 and August 5 from Hoare at Bantam, stating that to oblige 'certaine importunate Moores' he had charged Surat with 8,377 rials 30*d.* on account of the Joint Stock, and giving information as to the state of the shipping in those parts. Number of vessels required there in future. Losses sustained by the Dutch at Jambi, etc. Think that the action of the latter in not sending a fleet from Batavia to Surat this year 'savours rather of treachery then want of shipping', as they were well aware of the preparations of the Portuguese. The Company will perceive how necessary it is to depend on their own power and not to scant shipping for these parts. In view of the danger from the Portuguese, have decided to send the *James*, *William*, and *Blessing* together to Bantam, thence to proceed to St. Augustine's Bay and the Comoros, to meet the new fleet from England. As it will

be necessary to warn the latter to wait longer there than the date fixed by the Company, they have bought and fitted out a frigate of about 40 tons to carry advices to those islands. Another letter to the same effect will be sent by a native vessel. Cloves procurable at Macassar. The intended dispatch of the *Swallow* from Bantam to England may frustrate the President's plans for utilizing the pepper, etc., there to pay the Old Stock's debts at Surat; it will therefore be advisable for the Company to send money to clear that liability. Sales made from the goods received by this year's fleet. The cloth is the worst they have ever seen in India; it would be better to send none at all than such as this. The mariners bring a better quality and obtain 25 or 30 per cent. more in price. In future, 100 cloths will suffice, 80 of them stammel (no reds), and 20 green. It would be well to send for a trial '20 light coloured Spanish cloaths now usually worne in England by the gentry', as 'these great ones' have often importuned for a supply. Of lead, 1,000 pigs will be a suitable quantity; the price at present is about seven mahmūdīs per maund. Six or seven hundred maunds of quicksilver may be supplied yearly. The seamen by their private sales brought down the price to 3½ mahmūdīs per seer; but steps have been taken to stop this by seizing the parcels thus sold in the customhouse, paying only the sale price for them. The quantities of rough amber and vermilion sent this year may be continued. Coral should be forborne one year, except for 20 or 30 chests of that of highest price, known as 'Grezzi di Sardigna'.[1] 'This direfull tyme of dearth and the Kings continued warrs with the Decans disjoynted all trade out of frame; the former calamitie haveing fild the waies with desperate multitudes, who, setting their lives att nought, care not what they enterprize soe they may but purchase meanes for feeding, and will not dispence with the nakedest passenger, not soe much as our poore pattamars with letters, who, if not murthered on the way, doe seldome escape unryfled, and thereby our advises often miscarried on the other side. The warrs with Decan haveing stopped up all passages, the usuall intercourse of trade, the ordinary travell of caphilas, and accustomed conflewence of marchants to and from those parts are intercepted;

[1] Unpolished coral brought from Sardinia, then an important centre of the industry (information from Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S.).

whereby the vend, not only of your currall (whose greatest expence is in Decan) wilbe hindered, but likewise your fraight and customes in Persia much lessened by the want of those finer goods out of Decan, in whose liew your ships are only fraught with these of groser quallitie.' For this and other reasons, the freight earned by the present fleet for Persia amounts only to 22,000 mahmūdīs; but the customs at Gombroon will be increased 'by meanes of five laden juncks of this place intended also for Persia, though their dispeed be somewhat retarded, in expectacion of Portingall passes promised upon their late reconsciliacion made with this Kinge; who, highly inraged at their insolencyes, had by confederacy with Idle Shaw,[1] a neighbouring prince on the Portingalls territories, abridged them of all dayly provisions, and would have pursewed them to more streighter exegencie, as well there as other parts, to castigate their pride; which they perceaveing, and about the same instant haveing received a fatall overthrow uppon the iland Seilon, by the losse of 700 Portingalls and all their houlds except Columba [Colombo] and one more, were humbled so low as, contrary to their accustomed haughtines and all former example of that kinde, to surrender up the surprized *Mushawhee* againe, with all her goods and treasure. That loss of theirs upon Seilon, together with their want of supplies out of Europe, being the two mean [main] happie obstacles which the Almighties providence had apointed to divert their intended power of 12 gallions prepareing in Goa, with halfe as many more expected from Lisbon, besides three gallies and 120 friggats, the most parte fitted to wreake their mallice uppon your single force. And yet, notwithstanding the premisies, being now lately exasperated by their notorious disgrace uppon Swally Sands, the Vice-Kinge, accompanied with Ruifrero, in the hope of the Hollanders not arrivall, is said to be now addressing hitherwards with four gallions, three gallies, and 80 frigats, with intent (as wee suppose) to awaite our remaining shipps in their backe returne. But soe may it come to passe that the sly Hollander may jussell them in their way, to prevent our further disturbance.' Have instructed the commanders to keep together and to be always on their guard against surprise. Praise their 'passed deportments', which prove them

[1] Mahmūd Ādil Shāh, King of Bījāpur.

to be 'tractable, carefull, and valliant commanders'. They are ordered not to remain at Gombroon later than March 1; and if the silk has not come down by that time ('by reason of the rebellion in Guilon' [Ghilān]), they are then to dispatch the *Discovery* to England alone, the *Reformation* returning to Surat with the other ships. The portion of Sir Francis Crane's tapestry sent to court was sold to a nobleman named 'Raw Rutton' [*see* p. 90] but, as he is 'one of those great leaders who are now in feild against the enemy', there is no hope of payment until his return. Part of the tapestry retained here has been sold at a lower price to the Governor; but five pieces are still on hand. Are now treating with the Governor for the sale of the tapestry belonging to Captain Andrews and Mr. Hugh Perry. Send a list of the factors, etc., and their several employments in the Mogul's country. Thomas Smith, who was met at St. Lawrence on his way back to England, was persuaded by the President to return to India. Others, whose period of service had nearly expired, were prevailed upon to remain three years longer at an increased salary; the most notable of these are Arthur Suffield, 'one of our Councell,' John Norris, chief in Broach, and Ralph Rand. Transmit their accounts, balanced to April 20, 1630. Barber has been unable to complete them to date, especially as the Agra accounts are not yet received, and those of Persia are two years behind. This has prevented his return to England; but his services in Cambay for the new investment will be very useful. The factors at Agra write that they have bought upwards of 400 bales of round indigo, but 'in regard of the often itterated drougth and many greedy buyers', the price has risen to 38 rupees per maund, and not much is to be had at that rate. Do not expect, therefore, more than five or six hundred fardles for next year's fleet; and are consequently obliged to make a larger investment in calicoes. Could get no Malabar pepper, owing to the Deccan wars, and so were forced to buy that of Priaman at higher rates than usual. *PS.* (*January 6, 1631*)—Of the Portuguese prisoners, ten of the chief have been sent to England by these ships, and the rest will follow in the next fleet, as they consider it wise to deprive the enemy of 'his naturall Portugalls here in India'. Beg for a supply of presents. Too many have been given of late; but this abuse can only be reformed

gradually. Request that the supply of elephants' teeth may be resumed, as the best are now worth 55 mahmūdīs per maund. Estate of William Price. Want of ink, quills and papers. Have now found that the sailors are the guilty parties in the matter of ripping up the bales of calico. Those discovered have been punished severely. Account of stores transferred from ship to ship. Charles Scott, a sailor, sent home in the *Discovery*. In the fight with the Portuguese he was shot through both legs; commend him to the Company's charity. (*Received April* 11, 1632, *by way of Persia and Turkey.* 24 *pp.*)

THOMAS WILBRAHAM'S ACCOUNT OF CASH RECEIVED AND SPENT AT SWALLY, JUNE–DECEMBER, 1630 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxiv. p. 53*a*).

The payments are for cartage, the supply of water, imprest money, charges of merchandize, etc. The total is 18,040 mahmūdīs 12 pice. (1 *p.*)

ARMAGON FACTORY LEDGER, 1630–31 (*Ibid.*, p. 41).

The entries are dated between May 30, 1630, and January 22, 1631. The following names occur: Ambrose Winter, William Smith, Leonard Collinson, Richard Stampford, William Cliffe, Ethelbred Bright, John Butler, Jacob Fuddle, Lancelot Wigsell, Nicholas Bird, John Collins, Nicholas Bix, Richard Langham, Thomas Helliard, Richard Barlow, John Glover, Brian Barnes, Henry Cuffe, Thomas Pack, Francis Holland, Osmond Smith, Timothy Humbleton, John Turner, Griffith Price, Lawrence Henley, William Cross, Henry Sill, Ralph Cartwright, Edward Hall, Edward Chiverton. (23 *pp.*)

JOHN VIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *DISCOVERY* FROM SURAT TO GOMBROON AND THENCE TO ENGLAND (*Marine Records*, vol. lii. p. 53).

1630, *December* 31. The ship was fully laden with goods for England and Persia; the latter were discharged at Gombroon, and 500 bales of silk taken on board. 1631, *January* 7. The whole fleet went out of Swally Hole. *January* 8. Sailed for Persia.

January 28. Saw the coast of Arabia. *February* 3 [5?]. Captain Green, master of the *Blessing*, died. *February* 7. Anchored at Gombroon. *March* 18. The fleet sailed, the *Discovery* and *Reformation* being bound for England, the pinnace [the *Intelligence*] for the Comoros, and the rest for Surat. *March* 24. The ships for Surat parted company near Jask. *March* 31. Met a vessell of 'Synda' bound for Gombroon. *April* 15. Saw the coast of India. *April* 18. Took some coco-nuts and 'jagra'[1] from a Malabar junk. *April* 19. Lost sight of the coast near Cape 'Comorine'. *April* 21. The pinnace departed for the Comoros to meet the fleet from England. *May* 6. A total eclipse of the moon. *May* 18. Made the island of 'Deagoe Rise' [Rodriguez]. *May* 20. Anchored at the NNE. end of Mauritius. *May* 21. Anchored to the westwards of Turtle Bay. Found that the pinnace *Intelligence*, commanded by Mr. Burley, had reached the island on May 17 and departed on the 20th. *June* 1. Sailed for the Cape. *June* 3. Saw the island 'John de Castro' [*cf.* p. 42]. *June* 27. Lost company with the *Reformation* in a storm. *July* 5. Sighted the African coast. *July* 12. Met with the *Reformation* again. *July* 13. Anchored in Table Bay, finding there the *Palsgrave* and *London*, both bound for Bantam, and the *Holland*, a Dutch ship bound for Batavia. *August* 2. The four English ships sailed. *August* 19. The *Discovery* and *Reformation* anchored at St. Helena. Found there two Portuguese and a black, who had been left by a carrack homeward bound from Goa, that arrived at the island on July 20 and departed six days later. *August* 29. Sailed. *September* 5. Saw Ascension. *October* 26. Passed Flores. *October* 30. Another total eclipse of the moon. *November* 9. Sighted the Lizard. *November* 11. Spoke a small French ship from St. Malo, and heard of the conclusion of peace.[2] *November* 13. Off the South Foreland. Captain Bickley was carried ashore to be buried at Dover. Anchored in the Downs. *November* 16. Sailed again. *November* 28. Reached Erith. *December* 16. The cargo was fully discharged. (32 *pp.*)

[1] Palm-sugar (see the previous volume, p. 236). The term was also applied to the spirit obtained from the same source; cf. the *Court Minutes* for May 20, 1631, where Weddell is said to have brought away 'a hoggshead of jaggery for his owne drinking at sea'.

[2] Between England and Spain (November 5, 1630).

THE VOYAGE TO PERSIA AND BACK TO SURAT, BY GEORGE MARRIOT [1] (*Marine Records*, vol. lv. p. 21).

1631, *January* 7. The five ships left Swally Hole. *January* 28. Saw the coast of Arabia near 'Tiffie'. [2] *February* 6. Passed Cape Musandam. *February* 7. Anchored at Gombroon. *March* 18. Sailed again. *March* 24. The *Discovery* and *Reformation* parted company with the rest. *April* 3. Sighted the coast of India. *April* 5. Anchored in Swally Hole. (6 *pp.*)

RICHARD LUCAS [AT SWALLY?] TO ARTHUR SUFFIELD AT SURAT, JANUARY 6, 1631 (*O.C.* 1338).

Begs his assistance in obtaining money due from one 'Ragu' [Raghu]. Delivered him 1,500 mahmūdīs, but has only received to the value of 1,359 in return. Raghu's excuse will probably be that last year he bought a quantity of gum-lac for Lucas; but this was the wrong sort and had to be brought back from Gombroon, whereupon Lucas made him pay 100 mahmūdīs as compensation. *PS.*—Encloses a copy of his account with Raghu. (2 *pp.*)

JAMES BICKFORD AT SWALLY TO EDWARD SHERBORNE, SECRETARY TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 8, 1631 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 89).

They had a most prosperous passage from England; but on arriving were opposed by a squadron of Portuguese frigates, in which the Viceroy's son was serving as a volunteer. 'Their stratagem was fire, which had byn seaven yeares in the making; and doubtless it was woundrous artifitiall, as also fearfull to behould, for it did (as it afterwardes appeared) burne under water.' By the diligence of the sailors, however, this danger was avoided. The Portuguese also made a bravado on shore with 180 men, but were beaten back by 150 of ours with a loss of about 100 killed. Over 20 prisoners are now on board in irons. Rastell and the other factors landed on September 27, and were met by Skibbowe and Barber. They found everything in good order at Surat; 'onley a most mizerable mortall[it]y amongst the natives of this

[1] In the *William* (*see* p. 45). Another account, by Andrew Warden in the *Blessing*, will be found in vol. lvi of the same series.

[2] Probably Taiwī, between Ras-al-hadd and Muskat.

country, who for want of food (with [i.e. like] Jacobs sonns) with there whole famylyes dayley travell into forrain partes to seeck bread. And for want of this last yeares rayne is soe much augemented that, onely for want of sustenance with food, the poore people lye as a woefull spectacle to behould in our streetes and highwayes as wee passe along, dying and dead in great nombers.' As desired, he has invested Sherborne's money in baftas and delivered them to Capt. Bickell [Bickley]. (1½ *pp.*)

Peter Mundy [at Agra] to Crispin Blackden at 'Mogul-casaray',[1] January [24?], 1631 (*O.C.* 1339).

Wrote very early this morning to Signor Gaspar 'aboutt your jewel'. He replied that it would be ready by 'dopore' [*do-pahar*, 'noon'], in which case it shall be sent to overtake Blackden on his way. With regard to the pistol, Mundy begs to be allowed to retain it for his own defence, as he is but slenderly armed. Sends good wishes for the journey. (*Seal.* ½ *p.*)

The Same to the Same, January 24, 1631[2] (*O.C.* 1339 a).

Sends the jewel, which he has just received. Has not heard what is due to Signor Gaspar for the making, etc. (*Seal.* ¼ *p.*)

William Fremlen, Peter Mundy, and John Yard at Agra to Crispin Blackden 'at the Caphila', February 2, 1631 (*O.C.* 1340).

Forward a receipt given by 'Scieda' [Saīd] and the other Balūchīs for 100 'small rup[ees]' advanced to them, to be repaid in Surat. Blackden should see to the recovery of this money, and also of any spent on their account, as for camel meat at 'Mogul-kaseray'. Understand that 'Scied Muddafre' [Saiyid Muzaffar] is himself at Gwalior. He should be appealed to, 'if with reason they of Doulpore [Dholpur] will not free the goods'; and complaint should also be made of his people 'forcibly taking the tuttoo [a pony: *tattū*] from Allabux [Allāh Bakhsh] to supply his postes occasions'. Trust the rain has not wetted his goods. Cannot

[1] Mughal-ka-sarāī, probably a caravan station just outside Agra.

[2] 'Tisserapore' is added, i.e. *tīsrā-pahar*, 'the third watch' (noon till three o'clock): cf. the previous volume, p. 141.

conceive what he means by saying that he will try what a hundred rupees will do for the release of the goods, when Allāh Bakhsh writes that they only require sixty. As regards his remark that the Dutch saved their customs by procuring Āsaf Khān's parwāna, he knows very well that Āsaf Khān is nearer the Deccan than Agra; if he thinks such a document will help, he can procure one himself, and try to save the tolls between Burhānpur and Surat. *PS.*—Receipts required from him. (1 *p.* *Endorsed as received at Gwalior on February* 4.)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to Crispin Blackden, February 23, 1631 (*O.C.* 1342).[1]

Have heard from the Dutch of his departure from Agra with a caravan. It will be quite safe for him to go direct to Burhānpur, 'the King being now resolved (or at least likely) to continew his residence in that place, for it seemes he prosecutes the warrs with Decan.' If on his arrival there the camelmen refuse to proceed any farther without an extra allowance (owing to the scarcity of grain between that city and Surat), he may go as high as 300 rupees to content them. Willoughby will help him herein, as also in procuring any farmān or parwāna that may be needed. He may also hire additional peons at Burhānpur, if necessary, 'for the waies are become more desperatly dangerous then usuall.' (*Seal, with the Company's arms.* 1 *p.* *Endorsed as received on March* 13.)

John Jones at Gombroon to his Uncle, Captain Charles Price [in England], February 27, 1631 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 90).

Narrates the outward voyage. Sighted the coast of India on September 21, and next day saw some forty Portuguese frigates awaiting them, under the command of 'Don Francisco de Cuttine', who having the year before burnt a small English vessel, was so puffed up with pride that he came now resolved to fire the best ship the English or Dutch might have. On the 24th, the frigates being in two divisions, one on each side of the English fleet, a boat was

[1] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates.* An undated note from Surat to Agra, notifying Blackden's appointment to bring down the caravan (*O.C.* 1539), is probably to be assigned to this period.

dispatched from the one to the other, to advise an attack with the fireships that tide. The boat, however, was taken by Captain Morton's barge; and thus the Portuguese designs were discovered and the attack frustrated. The following day the President and Council were landed; and on the 26th the fleet fell down to 'St. Johns' [Sanjān] to look for the *Shāhī*. Ten days later they fell lower down to meet the Dutch at a time and place expected, because the previous year the Portuguese sent to Surat to warn the English and Dutch to provide for themselves, for this year they would meet them with twelve galleons, besides galleys and frigates. As it chanced, this proved a mere bravado; but had matters been otherwise, 'the base Dutch had left us in the lurch,' for they have not come. On October 14 the fleet anchored in Swally Hole. Two days later the Portuguese landed a force; whereupon the English did the same, but re-embarked on being informed by their scouts that the enemy had retired. On the 17th about 300 Portuguese went on shore, and seeing this the commanders hoisted out their boats and followed with nearly 200 men. They marched towards the enemy with colours displayed; whereupon the Portuguese retired slowly towards their frigates, firing volleys as they did so. 'In theire fallinge of, our men, being througly heated, followed and fell one with all expedition, and routed them in the mouth of the ordinance of their frigatts, where commenly they have in the prowe of them a peece or two, besides very well fitted with harqubusses, which the[y] discharged all the time of the feight. Our men followed the enemy soe close that they wayded up to the armepits and necks, nay further, they did swim to the sides of the frigatts and brought prisoners from thence—a bould atempt, but the Lord kepp us. In fine wee tooke prisoners 28 men, and wee credebly understood afterwards that some 43 more weere killed.' The loss on the English was about ten men wounded and one dead, viz. a corporal, Thomas Baker, of Marden in Herefordshire, who died from heat. On the following Sunday the Portuguese attempted to fire the English ships. 'A very violent and terible fire it was'; but no harm resulted. There has been a great dearth in India, owing to the failure of the rains; 'insomuch that many thowsands heads of cattell and many thowsand people are starved to death, and it is thought that if God of His goodnes doth

not send them raines this yeare all th[e] countre would be starved.' The fleet reached Gombroon on February 7. Two days later the writer was ordered ashore; and tomorrow he starts up country on a journey of 700 miles, which will take seven weeks. (*Seal.* 3 *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to Crispin Blackden, March 13, 631 (*O.C.* 1343).[1]

Enclose a copy of what they wrote him by Willoughby, who left here for Burhānpur on February 24. Since then have received his letter dated January 31 from 'Sankaqueseray'[2], the details in which they note. Warn him to be frugal in his expenses. 'The first Dutch caphila, forerunning yours, designing their voyage by the way of Avawse[3], were through dangers in that passage constreined to returne by the ordinary way of Brampore, as most safest and lesse incident to perills or disturbance, especially now that the King doth intend that place for his wintring, so as there is no feare of being deprived of your cammells, which was that which the Dutch misdoubted in Brampore. If it were possible to make some light provicion to defend the goods from the raines (which have here also fallen with us in some abundance), we wish you would indeavour it, whether by the meanes of the reed Cirgui[4] or otherwise as you find most apt for the purpose.' (*Seal.* ½ *p.* *Received March* 17.)

John Willoughby at Burhānpur to Crispin Blackden, March 11, 1631 (*O.C.* 1344).

Encloses a letter from Surat [*see* p. 136]. 'I met with Closse [? Claes Helmont], the Duch, att Roude [Arāvad], and hee tould mee the King had tackinge custom att Badarpoore [Bahādurpur —] 3 ruppes per camll, beesydes presents to the Kinge to the vallue of 7 or 8 hundeth rupp[ees].' Fears Blackden will have to pay at the same rate. Hopes to see him before his departure, but will not be long here, as his business is to recover money

[1] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

[2] This may be Sank-ka-sarāī. The road from Agra crosses the Sank River about five *kos* from Gwalior.

[3] See the volume for 1618–21, p. 210, etc.

[4] Hind. *sirkī*, a long reed-grass (*Saccharum sara*) much used for matting.

due from 'Rawe Rutton'; 'therefore I must repair where he is.' Begs a line when Blackden is near, as he would be glad to drink a cup of 'wyne of Agra' with him. (1 *p.*)

Edward Heynes at Gombroon to Edward Sherborne, Secretary to the Company, March 14, 1631 (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iv. no. 92).

Thanks him for his letter and token, and presents him in turn with a small carpet. Rastell has reached Surat 'in a happie seazon for the Company, but in a troublesome tyme for himselfe. The want of able merchants in that factorie had ben the ruien of the Companys busines if hee had not hapielie in tyme arived.' Similarly, in Persia all falls upon Heynes and another, Burt being dead, and the new factors 'fitter for shopkeepers then merchants.' Refers to his general letter for other news. *PS.*—Sends his commendations to Mrs. Sherborne and to Capt. Anthony Hill. Also begs his correspondent to assist his sisters in getting the 30*l.* which the Company promised to pay them yearly out of his salary. (*Seal.* 1 *p.*)

John Willoughby at Burhānpur to Crispin Blackden, March 16, 1631 (*O.C.* 1345).

Has received his letter of the 14th, with one for the President, which shall be forwarded. The Dutch caravan passed through Bahādurpur without trouble, and his may do so too, paying toll there. No wine to be had; Persian wine is four or five rupees a bottle. Will gladly meet him on hearing from him. (*Seal.* ½ *p.* *Received the* 17*th.*)

Edward Heynes and William Gibson at Gombroon to [the Fleet expected from England], March 16, 1631 (*O.C.* 1346).

Having been required from Surat to declare their opinions regarding the fleet making Persia its first port (as ordered by the Company and by the President), they have answered, pointing out the many inconveniences; and they now request and entreat the Commanders, notwithstanding those orders, to proceed straight for Surat. On meeting with 'this pinnace', they should await the

James, *William*, and *Blessing*, who will bring them instructions to prepare for 'the enterteynment of a stronge enemy' and other directions for their voyage. *Enclosure:* Clause from the general letter from Persia to Surat, expressing surprise at the decision to send the fleet first to Gombroon, where it will arrive in August or September. In the first place, that season of the year is so extremely hot that the inhabitants (except a few fishermen) wholly forsake Gombroon. Next, no transport can then be obtained, and so the goods must lie at the port, exposed to capture by the Portuguese. Further, it is impossible to bring down their silk before January at the earliest. And lastly, for the English to expose their persons to attend at the port then is 'no lesse then death to all or most'.[1] Trust therefore that this project will be abandoned. (*Copies.* 2 *pp.* *Received in London*, *June* 20, 1634, *from Plymouth out of Captain Quail's ship.*)

EDWARD HEYNES AND WILLIAM GIBSON AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 17, 1631 (*O.C.* 1347).

. . . 'The Portugall begins to be in favour againe with the Chon of Xiraz; hath raised a fortt att Jullfaor, on the coaste of Arrabia afroonte Kishmee, the entrance of the straight that passeth to Balzara [Basrā]; and by capitulacions granted them (the coppy whereof translated wee send you) hath license to trade att Portt Counge [Kung], which is three daies journy from Gombroon in the kingdome of Pertia, and there hath half the customs given him for procurement of trade to that portt by passing all jouncks and India vessells under convoy of his friggotts in the tyme of our shipping att portt. Hee hath crept so farr into favour that the Chon by his vikeiles [*see* p. 55] hath solicited us and the Dutch to a peace with them and to suffer them to passe quiettly if wee meet with them in the Gulph; to whom wee made such answere as gave the Chon good satisfaccion, and little hope therein to the Portugall. The Augustine and Carmalite friars att Spahan solicite the Kinge and Chon for Ormous againe; and the Frenche Capochine friars are peticioners to contract with the Kinge for all his silkes for ready

[1] The same arguments are used in a letter from Heynes and Gibson to the Company from Ispahān, September 26, 1631 (*O.C.* 1379).

mony for the Frenche Company, to be past by the way of Alleppo; in both theis they have little hope, being strongely oposed by ourselves, the Dutch, and Armenian Jullfareyns.'[1] . . . 'The King is now att Bagdatt, and like there to reside this ensuing yeare, in expectacion of the Turkes army returning, who hath bin shamefully repullsd and their seidge raised by the Pertian, with the loss of 15 or 20,000 of their army. The Chon of Xiraz is att present uppon an expedicion to take in Balzara from the Turke, beseidging itt both by sea and land with an army of 20,000 souldiers, encouraged thereunto by the Arrabbs inhabitants or neighbours unto that citty.' . . . 'The taking of Muscatt to our knowledge hath not hitherto bin spoken of; nor, [wee] thinke, was ever intended by the King or Chon. Some dreame possest the reporter thereof.' . . . Arrived at the port (Gombroon) on January 3, and waited a full month for the expected fleet. The native merchants began to lose heart and to 'withdraw themselves backe, with intencion to goe overland for India by Chandaharr, much to the displeasure of the Chons ministers, who receives their breade by the trade of this portt. Butt wee stayed them; and [it] was much to our reputacion as itt hapned, for the 7th of February following, by Gods blessing, your fleete, consisting of five good shipps, *Discovery*, *Reformacion*, *James*, *William*, and *Blessing*, with a small pynnace and four Surratt jouncks in company, arrived in safety, greately to the rejoycing of theis marchantts and people, and the more in that the Dutch fleete failed their company and portt this yeare, much to the disrepute of their action in theis partts.' . . . With this fleet they received the goods and letters directed for Persia, and also Indian commodities to the value of 7,800*l*. . . . The latter produced a profit of 63 per cent. . . . Entreat the Company to relinquish their design of directing their fleets from England to make Gombroon their first port. They will find the town deserted at that season (except for some poor fishermen) and open to attack from the Portuguese. No camels can be procured for transport of goods, and no silk can be expected till January. Moreover, the factors will be exposed to death, owing to the great heat. For these reasons the Dutch have 'utterly omitted' the practice. (*Extracts only.* 1½ *pp.*)

[1] Inhabitants of Julfa, a suburb of spahān, and the headquarters of the Armenians in Persia.

THE REV. THOMAS FULLER AT GOMBROON TO CRISPIN BLACKDEN AT SURAT, MARCH 17, 1631 (*O.C.* 1348).

Sends 28 mahmūdīs, the proceeds of the chest received from Mr. Stockton, purser of the *Blessing*. Would have invested it in dates, but they were all bought up by the Company and others. Has sent the baftas, etc., to England by Mr. Montgomery. Would be glad to pleasure him in anything, but does not expect to come down again from Ispahān till he goes for England. *Addendum to Clement Dunscomb.* Begs him to take charge of the money, if Blackden be absent. Desires to be commended to Wilbraham, Quarles, and other friends. (*Seal.* 1 *p.*)

JOHN WILLOUGHBY AT BURHĀNPUR TO CRISPIN BLACKDEN NEAR MAIDO[1], MARCH 18, 1631 (*O.C.* 1349).

Is heartily sorry to learn that he is so indisposed. As requested, has sent a 'doulle' [Hind. *dolī,* a travelling cot] and three 'cahars'[2]. They are to receive two rupees, one of which has been paid in advance. Also sends a small bottle of strong waters out of his own scanty store. *PS.*—His saltpetre should be passed under the name of sugar. Will meet him on receiving word. Jādū 'rem[em]breth his doua' [commendations: Hind. *duā*]. Should Blackden's sickness be dangerous, a message should be sent. (½ *p.*)

MATTHEW MORTON, MATTHEW WILLS, JOHN ROBERTS, AND THOMAS BEAUMONT, ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES*, TO [THE FLEET EXPECTED FROM ENGLAND], MARCH 21, 1631 (*O.C.* 1350).

On receipt of the letters sent in the *Intelligence*, request them to deliberate thereupon, and to consider how far the President's designs may be altered by the information from the Agent in Persia. Advise them to remain at the Comoros till the end of August, and then, if 'our fleete' has not arrived, to make for the coast of India and wait in lat. 19° 50′ till October 10, by which time they hope to join them. Should they fail in this, 'then to proceed for the port of Surratt if you shall heare nothing to the

[1] Some place not far from Burhānpur, as the letter was received the same day.

[2] Hind. *kahār*, a bearer: see the note at p. 105 of the 1618–21 volume.

contrary.' Warn them to be on their guard against the Portuguese. *PS.*—Signals to be made on the fleets sighting each other. (*Copy.* 1 *p. Received in London, June* 20, 1634, *from Captain Quail's ship.*)

RICHARD BARRY, ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES*, TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 22, 1631 (*O.C.* 1351).

They have had a happy and prosperous voyage hitherto. Anchored in Swally Hole October 14, 1630, landed their cargo, and took in various goods for the Europe fleet, besides 100 passengers and 689 bales for them. Sailed for Persia on January 7 and arrived on February 7. Embarked 70 passengers, 800 packages of theirs, and 459 bags of grain and 488 baskets of dates to supply the wants of the ships and factories in India. Sends by Adrian Montgomery, purser of the *Reformation,* a book of wills and inventories of deceased men, etc. (½ *p.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO [CRISPIN BLACKDEN], MARCH 25, 1631 (*O.C.* 1353).

Wrote on the 23rd, and a few hours after received his of the 9th current. Regret his indisposition. Note his complaint of unusual exactions on the way, but wonder at his need of money, considering the large sum delivered to him at Agra. Expect an account in his next letter. *PS.* (*by Rastell*)—In their last they ordered him, in paying tolls at Burhānpur, to pass his saltpetre under the name of sugar ; but it may be safer to enter it as indigo (as the Dutch did theirs), lest, sugar being 'provicions for the belly', it should be detained and by that means discovered to the King, who may thereupon appropriate it. He should consult the brokers and other friends about this. (1 *p. Received April* 5.)

JOHN WILLOUGHBY [AT BURHĀNPUR] TO CRISPIN BLACKDEN AT BAHĀDURPUR, MARCH 28, 1631 (*O.C.* 1354).

After leaving him, he went to visit 'Coll Choun' [Qulī Khān ?], but found him asleep and could not get speech of him. If, however, Blackden will have his camels ready to-morrow night, Willoughby doubts not to procure release. Requests a line to say 'what you

have done and how you have tattar[1] with those two dogs the brockars'. Thanks him for his kind entertainment. (½ *p. Received the* 29*th.*)

CONSULTATION ON BOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES*, MARCH 31, 1631 (*O.C.* 1355).

Understanding that the Portuguese are likely to meet them off Diu Head, it is agreed as follows: 1. If they be opposed by ships and in the narrow of the channel, then to use their best endeavours, keeping all three together, to attain sufficient searoom, and there by God's assistance to 'trie it out'. 2. If the enemy's force consist only of frigates, then to keep together and make for Swally Hole without loss of time. The *Blessing* is to go first over the bar, with the *James* on one quarter and the *William* on the other. The *Blessing* is to anchor somewhat to the northwards of the English tents, the *James* next, and the *William* southernmost; and they are to keep watch with their boats ahead, as was formerly done. *Signed by Matthew Morton, Matthew Wills, John Roberts, Thomas Beaumont, Richard Barry, and Robert Reason.* (½ *p.*)

PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO [THE FLEET EXPECTED FROM ENGLAND], APRIL 18, 1631 (*O.C.* 1356).

Enclose a copy of a letter, dated December 31, 1630, which was sent them by the *Intelligence*. Confirm the injunctions therein, except as regards their making Gombroon their first port, 'which our advices from the Agent there residinge geves us cause to annihilate.' To afford them timely knowledge of this change of plan, and lest the *James* and *Blessing* should be detained at Bantam and thereby be hindered from joining them at Johanna by the date assigned, the *William* has been ordered (after touching at the Coast of Coromandel) to carry this letter to them at the Comoros. Order them to wait at those islands until the end of August for the *James* and *Blessing*, and then, if those ships have not arrived, to proceed to the coast of India and await them there

[1] Probably Willoughby is using as a verb the Hind. *ṭhaṭṭhā*, 'sport' or 'jesting' (cf. the 1622–3 volume, pp. 275, 319). His meaning would then be 'what trick you have played upon the brokers'.

in lat. 18° until October 10. The conjoined fleets are to make for Surat, keeping together and in readiness to encounter the enemy. The famine raging here renders it advisable that they should collect any rice or other grain they can get at the Comoros. For this purpose they may barter some of their goods, and they may also open one chest of the rials delivered to Captain Wills, using, however, strict economy in both directions. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

Commission and Instructions from President Rastell and Council at Surat to John Skibbow and John Bangham, April 22, 1631 (*O.C.* 1358).

To proceed to Bantam to arrest George Willoughby and his adherents, whose delinquencies are detailed at length. On arrival they are to present to Willoughby the accompanying order[1] and secure his person, making an inventory of his goods and papers. Matthew and Grove are likewise to be apprehended; while Barnes, his mates, and his purser are to be dismissed from their ship. All these are to be brought to Surat in the *James* or *Blessing*. Steps to be then taken to settle the factors at Bantam and its dependencies, William Hoare being installed as Agent. The ship should leave in time to be at Johanna by August 31. Sill and Read to be given passages in her to Surat. Skibbow is to be supreme as long as he remains at Bantam. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Agent and Council at Bantam, April 22, 1631 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 535).

The last letter received from them was dated August 5, and was answered on November 12. The want of carts, owing to the mortality caused by the famine, delayed the dispeed of the fleet for Persia till January 7. From Gombroon the *Discovery* and *Reformation* were sent home on March 17; and the other three ships returned to this place on April 5. Even by that date the investments made at Ahmadābād and Cambay for Bantam, etc., had not fully come down to the port; 'and a greate blessing it was that wee procured its transport, though at five tymes the rates of former

[1] To submit himself to arrest. A copy forms *O.C.* 1357.

yeares, amounting not to less then 30 or 40 per centum (the verie charge of cartage) more then prime cost of the goods themselves; which we hope you will consider by its countervaile in sales, especially now that your corrivalls the Dutch have left the rule of this yeares marketts to your single dispose and government; but more principally the small quantities of like goods to be expected the yeare insueing, these parts of Guzerat above all other being bereaft of the greater part of weavers, washers, and dyers, who (such as are escaped the direfull stroake of famine) are disperst into forraigne parts of greater plentie, leaveing few or none of their facullty to putt either themselves or us into action; and God knowes many yeares must pass ere the ordinarie traffick of these parts be resettled againe into its wonted frame and condition.' The cargo now sent in the *Blessing* consists of 348 bales, the prime cost of which (without carriage) was 191,649 [mahmūdīs] 12¾. Had at first intended to dispatch both the *James* and the *William* to Bantam, thence to proceed to Johanna (in company with the *Blessing*) to meet the fleet from England and with them make Persia their first port; but, in consequence of advices received from Persia, this design has been abandoned. The *James* and *Blessing* will go to Bantam, but the *William* is to proceed to Armagon and thence to the Comoros to meet the new fleet. The latter is to await the other two vessels, first at those islands and secondly at a rendezvous on the coast of India, until October 10, and then come on to Surat. The distraction on the Coast has forced them to dispeed two factors on the *William* 'for remove of a late established upstart in those parts'; while Skibbow and Bangham are sent in these ships to apprehend George Willoughby and his abettors and bring them to Surat. While at Bantam, Skibbow is to have the control of all affairs; but on his departure William Hoare is to assume office as 'Agent for the Southerne factories (the Coast of Coromandell and West Sumatra excluded)'. Lawrence Henley is to be encouraged by increasing his salary to 100 marks per annum, if this will induce him to remain, as signified in their letter of December 3. Sill and Read are summoned to Surat to give evidence against Willoughby, bringing with them all relevant documents. To encourage the suppression of private trade, a passage from the Company's private instructions to Rastell is cited,

indemnifying him or 'any other in place' in case of an action at law resulting from the seizure of such goods. Inquiry to be made into alleged private trade in the *Falcon* and *Dove*, etc. If Pearce at Jambi has in his hands (as reported) a quantity of pepper belonging to Gregory Clement, this should be seized. They are urged to prevent the officers, etc., of the ships from 'gleaning up' spices; if this cannot be prevented, full information should be given, with a view to subsequent recovery either at Surat or at home. The Company's orders regarding the return of certain factors, etc., are to be obeyed. Send transcripts of former advices from the Company to Bantam, together with His Majesty's letters for the Kings of Bantam and Macassar, brought out by Rastell; also 250 pieces of English gold for the King of 'Tallow' [Tallo, in Macassar], being the proceeds of 'his adventure into England'. As the Company by an oversight have omitted to advise Bantam of the authority conferred upon Rastell, their letter to Surat is now sent in original; and in virtue thereof the factors are required to surrender to Skibbow and Bangham 'all such commissions or instructions as have beene heretofore given and graunted by our late Kinge James of blessed memorie to that Presedency, authorising the power of judicature and execution of life and death, which are henceforth of noe farther force and vallidity; and therewithall to conforme yourselves subordinate to the aforesaid Rastell and his Councell'. An account to be taken of the cargo of the *Star*. With that and the estate now sent on the *James* and the *Blessing* spices should be purchased and a competent lading provided for the *Star*, to be dispatched to England by December 31 at the latest. Three Dutchmen have been permitted to take passage in these ships.[1] Their fleet from Batavia (which the Dutch at Surat pretend to expect daily) is evidently otherwise disposed of, though they have great 'cavidalls' invested both here and in Persia. Probably they have sent the fleet first to the latter country, where they have 1,000 bales of silk waiting at Lar. Thus the English will be left, as before, to bear the brunt of any attack from the Portuguese; which makes it all the more necessary that the *James* and *Blessing* should be dispatched from Bantam in time to join the fleet from England. Request to be supplied with all the sugar and

[1] See the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, pp. 32, 38.

rice that can be obtained, both for use and for sale in India or Persia. The Company's letter is to be returned to Surat. *PS.*—A Persian horse sent for the King of Jambi. (*Copy.* 10 *pp.*)

ANDREW WARDEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE *BLESSING* (*Marine Records*, vol. lvi. p. 42).

1631, *April* 25. Left Swally Hole. *April* 27. Set sail. *July* 8. Saw land [south-west coast of Sumatra]. *July* 11. The wind continuing contrary, sent a boat to Bantam to fetch provisions.[1] *July* 31. Anchored in a bay.[2] *August* 1. The barge returned from Bantam, accompanied by the *Dove* with provisions. *August* 7. It was decided by consultation[3] that the *James* and *Dove* should take on to Bantam the goods of the *Blessing*, and that she should return to Surat, as the year was so far spent. *August* 8. The ships moved to another bay to get smooth water for transferring the cargo. *August* 15. The *Blessing* sailed for India. *October* 5. Met Captain Slade's fleet from England. *October* 7. Saw the Indian coast. *October* 14. The fleet anchored in Swally Hole, with eight Dutch ships. *November* 1. The *Blessing* and the *Exchange* went down to the river's mouth, sending their goods up to Surat in boats well armed, for fear of the Portuguese and the Malabars. *November* 10. [Robert ?] Reason died. The President also departed 'the fine[4] of this monthe'. The merchants could get no goods sent down, as the Governor refused to permit this unless the English would give him a present, as the Dutch had done. *November* 23. Sixteen Portuguese frigates arrived. *November* 28. The English ships returned to Swally Hole. *December* 1. The *Intelligence* returned from Jask. *December* 11. Seven Dutch ships sailed for Persia. (36 *pp.*)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT (*Ibid.*, vol. lviii. p. 1).[5]

1631, *August* 16. The *Blessing* parted company with the *James* and the *Dove*. *October* 5. Joined the fleet from England. *October* 7.

[1] On the 14th: see *O.C.* 1361, 1362, 1368.

[2] 'Neere Ballambeene Pointe, the southermost land of Sumatra' (*O.C.* 1362). This makes it clear that their anchorage was in Blimbing Bay, close by Flat Cape, the southwest extremity of the island, at the entrance to the Sunda Straits.

[3] See *O.C.* 1366.

[4] i.e. end; but the date is wrong (see p. 149).

[5] The writer's name is not given. He commenced his journal when the ship was about to return to Surat.

Nine Dutch ships overtook them. *October* 14. They all anchored in Swally Hole. *October* 17. Captain Quail arrived with the *Seahorse*. *October* 29. The pinnace was sent to Persia to warn the factors to provide necessaries for the fleet before the Dutch arrived. *November* 1. The *Exchange* and the *Blessing* went down to Surat Bar. *November* 10. Mr. Reason, one of their mates, died and was buried at 'Swally Sand'. *November* 28. The ships returned to the Hole. *December* 1. The pinnace returned from Persia. *December* 11. The Dutch sailed for Gombroon. (8 *pp.*)

George Marriot's Account of the Voyage of the *William* to Armagon, the Comoros, and back to Surat (*Ibid.*, vol. lv. p. 27).

1631, *April* 25. Sailed from Swally in company with the *James* and *Blessing*. *May* 14. Parted from them in lat. 7° 2′. *May* 16. Saw Cape 'Donndara'.[1] *May* 23. Saw a smooth round hill with a 'pagod' on top, about 8 miles north of Armagon. At seven o'clock at night anchored in the road. *June* 1. A Dutch ship from Batavia passed on her way to Pulicat. *June* 3. The *William* sailed. *June* 5. Saw a small Dutch vessel leaving Pulicat. *August* 3. Reached the coast of Madagascar. *August* 13. Anchored off Mohilla [Comoro Islands]. *August* 15. The skiff, which had been sent to Johanna, returned with the *Speedwell* and *Intelligence*, bringing news that Capt. Slade's fleet was at that island. *August* 20. Joined the fleet at Johanna. *August* 31. They all sailed for India. *October* 5. Met the *Blessing*, 'returned from Bantam-ward, haveinge losst hir viage.' *October* 7. Saw the coast near Bassein. Encountered nine Dutch ships from Batavia, bound for Surat. *October* 13. The *Speedwell* and the Dutch anchored in Swally Hole. *October* 14. The other four English ships went in. *October* 30. The *Intelligence* was sent to Jask to land a messenger for Gombroon. The *Exchange* and *Blessing* went to the river's mouth to secure the boats going up to Surat, 'thinckinge that wee shoulld have had our goodes passe up and downe by wallter.' *November* 7. 'Presedent Rassdall desesed, and was buryed the 9th daye.' *November* 21. The *Speedwell* went down to Surat Bar. *November* 22.

[1] Dondra Head, the southernmost point of Ceylon.

'My Lord of Denby went ashower to travell to the Magulles courte.' *November* 25. The *William* went to Surat Bar. *November* 28. Returned, as the goods were now ordered to be sent down by land. *December* 1. The *Intelligence* returned from Jask. *December* 7 [*sic*]. The Dutch fleet sailed for Persia. (22½ *pp.*)

PAPERS SUBMITTED BY RICHARD BOOTHBY TO THE COMPANY [? APRIL, 1631] (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xi. p. 7).[1]

A. His Account of his Differences with President Wylde.

On his arrival in September, 1628, and for a little while after, Boothby was well treated by the President and Council, though Mr. Page showed some disposition to quarrel with him. Soon, however, the President began to change his attitude, charging him with neglecting his business at the customhouse, and with being too forward in giving advice. Particulars of Wylde's choleric behaviour. Boothby was set to weigh pepper and other employments little befitting a Member of Council; while Mr. Page continued to quarrel with him on all occasions. He was then appointed to succeed Nathaniel West at Baroda; and although he objected that he was inexperienced and knew no language but English, he was overruled. Mr. Page now pretended to be friendly, but secretly endeavoured to make mischief between Boothby and William Price, who was appointed second at Baroda. (6 *pp.*)

B. Boothby's Answer to the Charges made against him.

He is charged with going to Ahmadābād without permission. His explanations on this and other points. Alleges that, while Kerridge was President, Wylde wrote to Clement and Hopkinson

[1] It has been found necessary to abbreviate very much Boothby's minute account of his grievances; but the papers are well deserving of study by any one desirous of obtaining details of the intimate life of the factory.

The subject has already been referred to in the previous volume (pp. 340, 344). It may be added that, on Boothby's arrival in England, his case was duly examined by the Court of Committees, with the result that he was found guilty and his dismissal was confirmed. He was, however, offered the sum of 200*l.* (afterwards increased to 300*l.*) as a gratuity; and as a matter of fact a larger sum seems to have been paid to him. Although he signed a general release, he soon made further claims against the Company. He petitioned the King, whereupon the case was referred to arbitrators, but they failed to agree. Next Boothby addressed the Parliament, but apparently without result. The story is told in his *True Declaration of the Intollerable Wrongs done to Richard Boothby* (London, 1644), which contains a great deal of interesting matter.

to 'incite them to resiste Mr. Kerridge in his actions, and to animate them to second him in there consents to deprive him of presedency'. Boothby has not been guilty of anything so bad as that. As regards his shipping goods in company with Banyans, he declares that Wylde encouraged him to take part in private trade, offering to lend him money for the purpose, and saying that he had himself made seven for one in his first adventure to the southwards; as for the bonds taken by the Company against private trade, Wylde told him that they were invalid and would never be enforced. Explains how he came to ship in his own name goods belonging to 'Chon Zarofe' [Khān Sarrāf]. The Council's proclamation against private trade was merely issued to satisfy the Company, and no real attempt was made to enforce it. The President allowed a broker to ship goods in his name, and also permitted certain Englishmen not in the service to lade merchandise for Persia (freight and customs free) which really belonged to natives. He has accepted presents from Surat officials and merchants and from the Persian Ambassador. George Page boasts that he makes 1,000*l.* a year, though he brought out but 60*l.* One individual is reported to have received from Bantam by the *Blessing* nearly 20,000*l.* For his own wrongs done to the Company, Boothby offered satisfaction; and he has been punished by nearly six months' imprisonment in Surat, eight months' at sea, 'fowre moneths a close prisoner, fowre daies in irons, and two daies hungerbitt'. Now submits himself to the Company's mercy. (8 *pp.*)

C. Supplement to his Defence.

He is charged with having twice shipped goods in partnership with Banyans. Reiterates that the practice was universal, and that its prohibition by the Council was understood to be merely a matter of form for the Company's satisfaction. Shipping private trade to Bantam could not in any way damage the latter. Wylde allowed the Italian Sebastian,[1] 'deepe drencht in Popery and sinn,' to send goods freely to Persia under the name of one of the Company's servants. He and the President 'are birds of a feather', and 'like will to like, quoth the Divill, when he danced with the collier'. The private trade of Wylde himself, compared with

[1] Sebastian Fiorino, for whom see the previous volume, p. 223.

Boothby's, was as mountains to molehills; and he and his friends gave passage on English ships for Dutch goods to Persia, in return for goods of their own sent to Batavia in Dutch ships. They were also deeply interested in the ventures of native merchants, who were allowed to go in the Company's ships under pretext of services rendered by them to its affairs. Quotes a letter from Francis Lloyd, purser of the *Charles*, dated February 15, 1631, repeating some disparaging remarks made by Wylde concerning Page, and the latter's assertion that Wylde had gained 'basely and dishonestly' an estate sufficient to yield 1,000*l.* a year in England. Boothby thinks it unjust, therefore, that he alone should be made to suffer. As regards his other private trade, he pleads that he understood that the Company allowed a certain licence to their servants, and that the covenants were not to be taken literally. Otherwise he would not have dreamt of going to India for 100*l.* per annum. Rastell's private trade was condoned, and the goods he brought back were freed from freight; in addition to which he was given a gratuity of 200*l.* Other servants who had been guilty in this respect were re-employed at better salaries; and this seemed to show that the Company had no objection to a reasonable amount of private trading. (4 *pp.*)

D. Rejoinder to Charges made by Wylde and Page.

They have called him in open court a dissembling hypocrite, a brazenfaced knave, a base villain, a perjured rogue, and a rascal. He endeavours to show that he is not any of these. Gives some biographical details. (4½ *pp.*)

E. A Narrative of his Wrongs.

This is largely a recapitulation of previous documents, but adds some fresh details. (17 *pp.*)

F. Answer to possible Objections.

Boothby maintains that he always behaved respectfully and considerately towards his accusers. Many of the factors only signed his condemnation for fear of the President, who would otherwise have found means to punish them. John Skibbow, who had been sent to Agra (at a cost to the Company of 300*l.*) merely to get him out of the way, protested to Boothby that he did not approve of the

way in which Wylde and Page managed affairs, but added that he did not dare to oppose them, 'desiringe rather to sleepe in a whole skynn.' Boothby refers to his formal protest and 'what disgust it gave to all men, both merchants and seamen'. His popularity with the natives was one reason why his associates were ill-disposed towards him; and his reproofs of their evil lives still further angered them. Denies that he was the cause of the increase in price of indigo at Ahmadābād, and charges Wylde with drinking and gaming with the Dutch Chief. Repudiates also the charge of extravagance and contentiousness at Baroda. Confesses that he borrowed money from the Company's cash there, but declares that he duly repaid it, and insinuates that the accusers must have practised the same on a vast scale to amass such large fortunes. Wylde is reported to be worth 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*, all gained during his short stay in India, though he spent freely while there. (10 *pp.*)

G. *Miscellaneous Papers.*

Reasons to prove that the warrant from the President and Council to the Commander of the Fleet, for the deportation of Boothby to England, was forged. (1¾ *pp.*)

An account of money due to Boothby from the Company, with explanations. (1¾ *pp.*)

Concluding reflections. (2½ *pp.*)

An account of money subscribed on board the *Jonas* and *Discovery*, in Sept., 1628, towards the Hospital at Blackwall, with a complete list of the subscribers, and some notes on a dispute connected therewith. (3¾ *pp.*)

ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT AGAINST RICHARD WYLDE BY GREGORY CLEMENT (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xi. p. 65).[1]

Clement reiterates the charges he made against Wylde to President Rastell, on meeting him at St. Augustine's Bay. The first is of smuggling the Company's money ashore at Surat from the *Jonas* in 1628. When this charge was preferred by Boothby, a pretence was made of examining the customhouse books; but Wylde refused to adopt the only satisfactory course, namely, to procure the testimony of the local officials, alleging that 'it would

[1] Endorsed as having been delivered to the Company on April 20, 1631.

be a greate disgrace to our nation'. The writer understood afterwards from the broker Gurdās that the real customhouse books were kept in Persian, whereas those produced were 'written in Banian'. It was believed that the same was done with the money brought in 1629, the President making use of John Willoughby for the purpose and concealing the business from Clement, who was then at the Marine. This 'stealinge customes' is usually deferred till the fleet is about to sail for Persia, 'for at all our ships first arrivall in Swally all the highwayes and passedges are narrowly watcht by the Governours servants.' At this time both Clement and Predys were got out of the way, and the latter has affirmed that 'he had certaine notice of the stealinge it up'. The second charge is that Wylde bought and sold goods, and borrowed money, without acquainting the Council. This was admitted by Skibbow at a consultation held on September 4, 1629. Clement himself was asked to sign the record of this consultation nine months after its date, which shows how business was managed. Wylde is suspected of underhand dealing with Vīrjī Vōra to the Company's detriment. While Clement was at Agra, a bill of exchange for 15,000 rupees was sent from Surat, drawn upon Vīrjī Vōra's servant. This cost practically seven per cent. of the amount; and yet an attempt was made to extort a further three per cent. on payment, claiming 'deduction from the chullaine[1] rup[ee], which hath alwaies byn the rup[ee] current on bills of exchange'. Clement could have taken up money at Agra in exchange for bills on Ahmadābād at reasonable rates, but the President's previous prohibition caused him to forgo the opportunity. In this and similar cases the Company lost considerably; and, even if no corrupt motive be proved, Wylde must be condemned for bad management. John Skibbow's deputation to Agra is believed to have been a plot to get him out of the way. Wylde and Page alleged that 'Mier Sheames [Mīr Shams], the Governour of Surrat, had letters from the Kinge to treate with our nation for assistinge his people in the takinge from the Portugalls Dua and Daman, and that they must send up unto

[1] The *chalanī* ('current') rupee, struck at Agra. William Hawkins (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i. p. 217) says 'a tole is a rupia challany of silver'. Ufflett (who was with Hawkins) speaks of 'your hundee [*hundī*], Shawshalem [Shāh Salīm, i.e. Jahāngīr], and challenees ropee' as one and the same coin. Fryer calls it the 'chillannee' rupee.

the Kinge an eminent man to treate thereabout'. Skibbow was appointed to this duty, though quite unfit for it, owing to his state of health. On arriving at Agra, 'his repaire first was to Asafe Chaun, whoe governs and mannadges the affaires of the whole kingedome.' Āsaf Khān's reply 'plainely shewed that there had byn no such thing mooved by the King or State'. He said that 'the Kinge could not now intend it, for shoretly he purposed to goe towards Decane'; but he told him to bring a present to the court and he would procure him an interview. The sole result of this was 'an ordinary ferman graunted for our peoples good usadge at Surrat'; while the presents given to the King and Āsaf Khān cost 120*l.* and Skibbow's journey a still larger sum. During the two years Clement was at Agra he spent only 270*l.* in presents, including gifts on three occasions to the King and Āsaf Khān; while he has known Wylde to give the Governor of Surat 200*l.* at one time. Wylde ordered the Agra factors to buy all the indigo they could possibly get, with the result that they were obliged to purchase much that was not yet 'cured'. Then he sent fresh orders to desist, which arrived just when they could have bought to advantage. Wylde should also be questioned why he remitted 1,000*l.* due from Jādū, their former broker at court; apparently this was done to save Gurdās (who was of the same family as Jādū) from having to pay the debt. Gurdās was so powerful, owing to his knowledge of Wylde's 'juglings', that all the English were obliged to curry favour with him. By his influence Jādū was sent up to court to recover debts, and allowed one-half of any money he could get. Alleged attempt of Wylde to defraud Richard Chamberlain's estate of 40*l.* paid by Clement. Had not the Agra factors' hands been tied by positive orders from the President, they could have sold some sugar at a profit of sixty per cent. and invested the proceeds in indigo; but they were left no liberty of action in this and other cases. When Wylde and Page fell out, the former told the latter that 'he never deserved the watter he washt his hands and feett with whilst he was in India'; whereupon Page retorted that Wylde 'had gotten his estate most basely and dishonestly, and that he would discover his juglinge in due time to our worthie imployers'. (11 *pp.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to [the Agent and Factors in Persia], May 13, 1631 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. lxxxiv. part iii. p. 1).

Received their letters of March 17 by the fleet, which arrived here April 5; also their second advices of March 30, 'by the *Shecandreene*'[1], which came to hand only last night. Will reply at length later; for the present only desire them to note that their 'perswasive lines' in the former, and especially the conviction expressed that no silk could be got down to Gombroon before January next, induced the President and Council to send word to the new fleet to make Surat its first port; now, on perusing the later letter, they would be glad to cancel those instructions, but fear time will not permit. As, however, the *William* is proceeding to Masulipatam, and thence is to go in quest of the fleet, they are writing to the commanders of the latter, 'revivinge their first designe and appointinge them first to Persia.' In the event of the arrival at Gombroon of the fleet and also of the *James* from Bantam with sugar, rice, etc., the following directions should be observed: (1) the Agent may open the Company's packet for Surat and act in anticipation on any instructions he finds therein; (2) no goods, money, or presents intended for Surat are to be taken ashore; (3) if merchants be waiting at Gombroon, the Bantam goods brought by the *James* (her lading and rice excepted) may be bartered for silks and money; (4) if no merchants be there, only the pepper and sugar should be landed, the value being sent to Surat in rials; (5) the fleet may be detained, if necessary, a few days longer than the time appointed. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

The Same to [the Same], June 10, 1631 (*Ibid.*, p. 3).

Now answer their letters of March 17 and 30. Have given credit for the goods received at the rates mentioned in the invoices, though time did not permit of their being checked. Managed to get the fleet dispatched on April 26 with a lading of 10,000*l.* sterling. As the sales of the India goods sent to Persia encourage a yearly supply, they request detailed information of the sorts most vendible and the quantities required. Hope that, with these goods and with the help of money, the factors will be able to equal the

[1] Probably *Sikandarain*, i.e. *The Two Alexanders*.

Dutch in the purchase of silk at the port ; 'which it seemes the Dutch doe intend to practice and prosecute, that so in a smale processe of tyme the mart for silke may be reduced thither ; which, beinge an auncient aime of the Companies', they are willing to further by all means in their power. Probably the Company will send out a larger proportion of money for this purpose ; and in the meantime the President and Council will spare some out of the stock assigned to them, as obviously it is more profitable to invest in silk than in Indian commodities, especially at the high prices now ruling for the latter. Do not understand their computation of the money required by the contract made with the Shāh. The reason why the money sent back in the fleet was asked for was the extreme need of funds at Surat, owing to all their English goods (except fifteen chests of coral) remaining unsold. The Company's suggestion was that silk should be obtained on credit from the Shāh, to be paid for at the port in money and goods ; urge an endeavour to arrange this. Hope to send better gunny in future, but think some waste or abuse has taken place. Regret the difficulties experienced in obtaining the customs due to the English at Gombroon, and fear that the Shāh or the Khān may intend to withdraw that privilege ; urge the factors to do their best to prevent this. Hope to send them from the next fleet a merchant to look after the customhouse ; from hence they could only spare them Bangham, who, 'if he want not spirite,' is apt enough for the business. Disapprove of their marking Vīrjī Vōra's bales with English letters, though it was done without prejudice to the Company's freight, as such a favour may lead to a suspicion of their fathering native goods to the detriment of the customs. Trust that the factors will assist in suppressing private trade. A quartermaster, detected in 'coullouring these peoples goods', 'for his pennance had the usuall punishment of an English rogue in publique bazarr, where the Moores that dealt with him were spectatours, they and their goods being refused to passe on our shippinge.' Have already represented to the Company the bad quality of their broadcloth. The excessive supply of tin to Persia was due to advices received from thence, which have misled the Company. Transfer of remains from one Voyage to another. Suggest that the tin be left in the castle at Gombroon. Necessity

of bridling the sea captains in their pursuit of private ends. The late fleet brought as much grain (besides dates) belonging to individuals as that appertaining to the Company. Seized the former, but in view of the clamour raised were forced to allow the owners their principal and 25 per cent. profit. The captains should also be restrained in their expenditure on fresh provisions for the ships. Rates prescribed for the latter. The factors' allegation that silk could not be brought down earlier than January was the chief cause of the countermanding of the Company's orders to the fleet to make Gombroon their first port; to the other reasons little importance is attached. Should there be any chance of bringing the silk to port in August or September, the factors ought not to shrink from attempting it, in view of the benefit to the Company. On receiving their subsequent letter, wrote to the commanders, cancelling the former instructions; but fear the *William* may have quitted the Coast before their messengers can arrive. Supply of merchants for Persia. Hope that they have procured a supply of 'ruhanes' [rūnās] from 'Ardavill [Ardabil], which [it] seemes is the place which produceth that comodity'. Have done their best to show courtesies to the merchants recommended to them. Enclose a transcript of their former letter [*see* p. 156] sent by Capt. Wills; desire a punctual observance of the directions therein, particularly as to the reservation of the cloves for sale in India, these being now worth in Agra 360 rupees per maund of that place, 'being 55 *li.* haberdepoiz, a price that England will never equall.' Might have written sooner, but thought it well to defer doing so until the first rains, in the hope that the Company from these advices might receive some better encouragement than was contained in their last; 'the raines having already fallen in most parts of Guzeratt, and by all observacion and forerunninge signes, both of aire and weather, this winter is like to be seasonable; which provinge answerably will bringe us into accion againe in the procurement of callicoes, whereof Brodera and Baroch (with the helpe of a seire of corne delivered out to the weavers upon every peece bought) doe produce us about 200 peeces a daie, which the raines, wee hope, will augment; so as, with those quantities already purchased, wee will not doubt the atteyning of 500 bales in all factoryes towards this next yeares returnes; which with 800 bales of Cirquez indico and

800 and od churles of that of Agra now lately compleated, with the promised performance on your parts in 14 or 1500 bales silke, and 200 bales cotton yarne bought and turned over from the Old Joynct Stock, besides 7 or 800 bales of saltpeter for ballast, will not come much shorte of the *William* and *Blessings* ladinge for England.' Trust therefore that these two ships will be able to go home, making Gombroon their last port. Pepper to be transferred to them from the *James*. Are providing sugar, sugar candy, cardamoms, and coffee for Persia, and will do their best to procure the other commodities desired. Will also send a supply of money on hearing from them. Request details of the 'fine goods of Gulcundah' wanted. 'They are commodities (it seemes) very generally sought after, as well by Moores as Armenians merchaunts, and that for sumes of greate valewe; which therefore would be neerely lookt into, and such proper use made thereof to the Companies benefitt as the happie conveniency of their trade and servants residence on the Coast of Coromandell neere adjoyning doth invite; which together with many apt goods of Mesulapatan (no lesse in request then the former), besides extraordinary cheape sugarr and other provisions of Bengalla very easily to be procured, would be a faire imployment for one shipp every yeare from thence; thereby, with the helpe of money as aforesaid, to increase and support the constant mart for silke at Gombroone.' It will, however, be necessary for the Company to send a larger supply of money from England; and this could best be done by the shipping intended to furnish those factories for the southwards. A ship might arrive on the Coast in May and leave again in October, proceeding to Surat, where she should transfer her cargo to other ships going to Persia, and herself take in goods for Bantam. Request that this course may be commended to the Company from Persia, and that at the same time the enclosed letters may be forwarded to England as speedily as possible. 'The warrs with Decan are yett still contynued, but with slowe mocion and smale successe or performance. Ckaune Jehaune, in his flight from thence towards his owne countrey being interrupted in his passage and pursued by Abdela Ckaun with advantage of nomber, encountred the terrour of his desperate fortunes and with admirable courage preffred an honorable death (which the marks of 15 wounds well

testified) before that life that must have suffred the scorne and contempt of his persecutors, and so finished his daies, amongst the thickest of his enemyes fighting.[1] The Kinge nevertheles desists not in his aymes against Decan, whose three kings are now strongly confederated, which before were partely devided. And in the interim Balsuneber[2], the sonne of Jehaunguires brother, who of the bloud royall being thonly man that surviveth, and having formerly conveyed himselfe into the Tartarian territoryes is there linckt in matrimony with the King of [*blank*] his daughter and assisted by his father in lawe both with men and moneys, layes clayme to Cabull, Multan, and all those parts towards Lahoare; which is thought will begett a peace with the Decans and divert the thoughts of this kinge that waye.' Are ignorant whether the Company have expressly nominated Edward Heynes to succeed as Agent; but, as the President knows their intentions in that matter, 'wee . . . doe hereby conferre the same upon him and invest him with the name and title of Agent over all the affaires of Persia,' with the same authority as his predecessor, always reserving the 'preheminency' of 'this Presidency'. Received the three horses sent in the *James*, etc.; inquire their cost, in order that the amount may be duly credited. *PS.*—These letters are sent by a servant, in company with one belonging to the Dutch. Each has been given 30 mahmūdīs to carry him from Ahmadābād to 'Sinde' [Lārībandar], from whence they are to take ship to 'Guoadell' [Gwadar, on the Makran coast], if possible, and in that case they are to receive 30 mahmūdīs more. If forced to proceed by land, their allowance is to be doubled. Their instructions are to proceed direct for 'Lawre' [Lar]. They should be sent back by sea, if English or Dutch ships are available; otherwise they should be dispatched overland, so as to arrive before the fleet starts for Persia next December. The same allowances may be given them for the land journey, two kinsmen of Jādū providing them with money at 'Sinde'. Request a list of Englishmen employed in

[1] See Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. vii. p. 20.

[2] The reference seems to be to Bāyasanghar, son of Prince Dāniyāl. He had supported Shahryār in his attempt to win the throne, and was appointed Sultān Sipahsālār of the army which the latter opposed to the forces of Āsaf Khān. After the victory of the latter, Bāyasanghar disappears from view, and his fate has always been a mystery (see a paper by Dr. Blochmann in *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1869, p. 217).

Persia, with their salaries, and a note of how many are required for that employment. (*Copy.* 14 *pp.* *Received in London June* 20, 1634.)

GEORGE PAGE [IN LONDON] TO THE COMPANY [? JUNE, 1631] (*Public Record Office: East Indies*, vol. iv. No. 96).

In obedience to their injunction, he has set down a full account of his private trading in India. He took out with him in the *Eagle* about one hundred pounds' worth of goods, which he sold at Surat. He then sent in the *Anne* to Batavia a parcel of baftas, 'putchocke,'[1] etc., to the value of 420 rials of eight. In successive years he sent 750 rials in goods by the *Christopher*, 585 by the *Palsgrave*, 2,715½ by the *Blessing*, and 3,480 by the *Mary* and a Dutch ship. On the *Jonas* he sent to Bantam calicoes costing 8,700 mahmūdīs, but they were returned, and he was obliged to sell them at a loss of 20 per cent. His other private trade was with masters and mariners for ready money. (1½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *MARY* [AT JOHANNA], JULY 31, 1631 (*O.C.* 1365).[2]

The *Intelligence* having on May 30 brought to them at St. Augustine's Bay letters from Surat and Gombroon, the one ordering them to make first for Persia, the other dissuading them from that course, they on June 14 resolved to follow the latter advice. Since then they have reconsidered this decision, as the President's order is absolute and agrees with the directions received from the Company They have also determined to carry the *Intelligence* to Persia with them. Owing to their long stay here, they will be unable to follow the Company's orders 'for the discovery of Broome'.[3] *Signed by James Slade, Humphrey Pynn, William Minors, Peter Andrews, John Pashley,* [*Richard*] *Barnaby, and William Fall.* (*Copy.* 1 *p.* *Received in London June* 20, 1634, *from Captain Quail's ship.*)

[1] A fragrant root from Kashmīr, which was in great demand in China for use in the manufacture of joss-sticks.

[2] The copy is dated August 13, 1631.

[3] This must be Burum, in the Gulf of Aden (see the previous volume, p. 70). Minors had probably suggested an expedition in this direction.

Messrs. Skibbow, Hoare, Vernworthy, and Bangham at Bantam to the President and Council at Surat, September 5, 1631 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 545).

Send copy of their last, dated August 14 [*O.C.* 1362]. Two days later the *Blessing* sailed to meet the fleet from England. The *James* arrived at Bantam on August 24, when Willoughby and others came on board and remained all night. Willoughby dealt secretly with Norbury, the master of the *Falcon*, to take him ashore in his boat, but this intention was not carried out.[1] In the morning Willoughby was presented with the warrant from Surat, which he obeyed. Skibbow and Bangham went ashore, leaving him a prisoner aboard the *James*, as they feared he might stir up resistance if allowed to land. Hoare has accepted the post of Agent, and Henley has also agreed to remain. Disposal of the goods brought by the *James*. Proceedings at Bantam. Two ships expected from England. Employment of these and other vessels. 'You have been misinformed in the quantetie of suger to be provided in theise parts, for here is not that quantetie made to bee spent in this place and Battavia, namely 400 pecull a yeare; and that which is made verie badd, course, and black, and only in everie baskett they putt a little white suger in the topp and all the lower part is durt, etc. They will not bee diverted from their course upon any tearmes.' It will be necessary to send money from Surat to buy goods and pay charges here, say 25,000 to 30,000 rials of eight; for there is no likelihood of providing funds by the sale of goods. The Mataram is expected to attack Batavia next year. A Dutch fleet of nine sail[2] left for Surat before the arrival of the *James*. Three days ago a ship from Holland, the *Prins Hendrik*, passed this place.[3] She had been 5½ months coming out, and had lost 160 men. She brings news of a great famine in Holland, France, and Italy. Will bring what rice they can collect, but the quantity is not likely to be large. Arrangements for lading the *James*, which will, it is hoped, be ready to start by the 20th current. (*Copy.* 4½ *pp.*)

[1] Norbury declared that he had agreed to do so (knowing no reason against it), but that he himself stayed too late, welcoming the newcomers (*O.C.* 1369).

[2] This was the fleet commanded by Philip Lukaszoon, late Governor of Amboyna (*Dagh-Register*, p. 37).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Peter Mundy at Agra to John Skibbow in Surat, September 6, 1631 (*O.C.* 1373).

Thanks him for paying to Glascock 409 mahmūdīs, which were in his hands belonging to Mundy, and for advancing a further sum of 500 mahmūdīs, 'which could never com mee better to passe.' Understands that Skibbow has gone to Bantam and on his return intends to proceed to England. Will make bold to trouble him with a letter for Mr. Job Harby, and trusts the Almighty will bring him safely 'to thatt good land where wee all hope to arrive att length'. (½ *p.*)

President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Agent and Factors at Bantam, September 8, 1631 (*O.C.* 1374).[1]

. . . . Think it probable that, owing to the 'rumored forces of the Portugall and this inthralling debt here in India', the Company will this year send all their ships to Surat and none to Bantam in the first instance . . . . 'Your reasons, assent, and counsell (concurring with the opynions of all others the most experienct of the Companies servants both there and at the Coast of Coromandell) as well for the continueing of both factorys Armagon and Mesulapatam (for settled residence) as for the compleating of that (yet impropperly cald) forteficacion at the former place, hath confermed us in the resolution of eyther, the rather in respect of the Companies late forward inclinacion to maintayne their right and priviledges in Armagon, by their establishing there a captain and consenting to its charg of defence and continuance, which by the projection of John Hunter wilbe easily defrayed by the constant ymployment of a small shipp and pynnace on that coast, with that of the two vessells expences included'. . . . Stock to be sent to Bantam out of this year's expected supply from England, which is only 30,000*l.* sterling and such further means as will purchase 600 bales of Persian silk. All this is assigned by the Company for the provision of cargoes for the *Mary*, *Exchange*, and *Speedwell*; and the first two are to be laden in India and the third with pepper at Sumatra. It would seem, therefore, that Bantam is wholly excluded this year, except for the Coast goods appointed by the *Hopewell*. Probably

[1] The portions not abstracted refer to affairs at Bantam, etc.

the price of pepper in Europe is low; otherwise the Company would surely have found more employment for their expensive establishments in the Far East. 'But God hath provided otherwise for them, for, out of a resolution (long agoe) to sett a more early commencment to our southerne investments then usuall, determining the goods dispeed from hence at such fitting season as not to loose the monsoone for Macassar, we were in busy acction (and to farr ingag'd to fall off) before the receipt of their letters. And twas happy it fell out so, considering the tymes, which are reduc't to that change and miserie (in these parts of Guzerat especially) as, besides the excessive rates of Serquez indico and all manner of Indian cloathing (too deare by much to render it profitable in England), theres no goods (except Agra indigo), no, not to be had for mony; soe as it came us well to pass to be thus in forwardnes by having glean'd up the remaynes of old stores in Amadavad and Cambaya, wherewith to procure us our cheifest lading from the southwards. But you will finde them extreamely deare; and being that the Dutch (for want of meanes) have sat still this yeare, and are only furnisht with their last yeares investment (which wee conceive wilbe short of ours at present), and that goods are thus also scarce and deare as abovesaid, tis in the skill and power of the factors there ymployed (if provident in the mannaging) to improove their sales likewise in some fitting proportion answerable.' Commend the diligence of Agent Hoare. Explain their intentions about the loan of pepper by the Old Stock to the Second General Voyage. Pepper is not at present vendible in Persia, but possibly the King may be persuaded to take some hereafter. The trade will be distracted so long as it is divided into these several voyages. . . . The goods at the Coast belonging to the Joint Stock have been transferred to the account of the Voyage and will be taken to Bantam by the *Hopewell.* They should be turned into spices and sent home. . . . Approve the dispatch of the *Dove* to Surat with the *James.* . . . Refer to the Company's letters for the instructions given to the *Hopewell.* 'One thing observable therein which (for their good) concernes us heere to speake of is (out of what mistake wee know not) the subjecting of the Armagon accompts unto your commaund and approvall; wherein how farr they are swerved from their last yeares resolucion (grounded on juditious

reasons, not slightly but maturely and often debated) let their orders (late sent you) give testimony. That it is most impropper is easily made manifest, for where they are subordinated and doe receive directions, reason would they should accompt; and the rather in respect of the conveniency of trade twixt that, this place, and Persia, with which it must needfully hould dependancy, as well for meanes order [*sic*], especially when [wee?] become more able by the Old Stocks debts disburthening. That they should accompt to the southwards in regard of any design'd supplies from thence in spices, etc., it is one and the same if they be diverted hither; for, both places being seated uppon one and the same continent, what the one wants the other furnisheth; wee meane not in respect of the ports themselves, but the inland countreys of India, which are in a manner equally distant from eyther, and the parts of most consumption of spices. Againe, it stands at a nearer distance, where we may have often (if need be) weekely advices, and upon all occasion interchange opynions one with another, can as frequently quicken their dilegencies and reprehend either backwardnes in accompts or other neglects (when theres cause for the same); which Bantam can doe but once a yeare, and hath bene principall cause of such slack and disorderly performanceis for these many yeares past, so much complaind of by the Company. Now, the premises considered, and being confident of the Companies intention to be no way agreeing with that clause unadvisedly inserted, we doe resolve to dispence with the same till our opynions hereupon shall receive their answeares out of England; and in the interim shall expect conformity in whome it concernes.' . . . Bix is to be allowed to return to England. . . . 'The warre with Decan is at a pawse and a peace now in treaty, though the armies on neither side dismissed, [and?] the King still in Brampore; which preventing the supplies of corne to these parts from those others of greatyr plenty, and the raynes hereabout having falne superfluously, which with bad governement is cause of the highest extreame of scarcity, wheate and rice being risson to 2½ sere for a mamoodee, butter at a seare and a quarter, a hen at 4 or 5 ma[moodees][1] (and rare it is to see one); and to afflict the more, not a family throughout either

[1] These prices were translated on receipt of the letter in London into 'rice 12*d* for 30 oz.; butter, 12[*d.*] for 1 lb.; a hen at 4 and 5*s*.' (*Marginal note.*)

here or Baroch that hath not beene vissited with agues, feavors, and pestilentiall diseases. God avert these judgments from us, and give us strength to suffer His chastisements with patience.' (*Copy.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Received in Bantam January* 27, 1632, *and in London September* 4, 1632.)

George Willoughby, aboard the *Royal James* at Bantam, to the Company, September 12, 1631 (*O.C.* 1375).

Wrote from Masulipatam in the beginning of November and from Armagon on January 31; has also been 'large' to Surat. He left Armagon in the *Star* on February 1, accompanied by Sill, Matthew, Grove, Read, and Tempest, and reached Bantam on March 27. On account of Sill's many misdemeanours, Willoughby found himself constrained to remove him and Read, 'and sequester his estate towards your dammages,' pending orders from Surat. With the exception of the 'howsing' at Armagon (which was referred to the President) all the remains of the Joint Stock on the Coast have been transferred to the Second General Voyage. They amount to 6,411 rials 30*d.*,[1] of which commodities and good debts come to 4,414 rials 40*d.*, and military stores, ordnance, and 'all other moveables' to 1,996 rials 50*d.* For this amount he intended to have sent bills of exchange as directed. The desperate debts (nearly 250 pagodas) were not transported, but left to be recovered for the same stock. Few or no debts there on account of the Second General Voyage. All the goods of the *Star* were laden on her, except some lead and alum remaining unsold at Armagon, with a small quantity of gold to defray expenses there. By 'consultacion John Hunter, in reguard of his former experience on that Coaste and good repute with you, was left chief at Armagon, Nicholas Bix second, and Raph Cartwright third; the latter wherof was there left by order from Surrat'. English cloth brought to Bantam . . . . . . Has been informed that Sill, Read, and others carried great store of private trade to the Coast, not only for Englishmen but also for Dutchmen, amounting to 40,000 rials. 'Henry Syll at his first arivall at Armagon began to plant private trade, therto makeing a contract with Raga Chetty [Rājā Chetti],

[1] Evidently sixty pence were reckoned to the rial of eight.

Governour there, and your chief merchant and others for coasting voyages to Gingelly, Pegu, Racan, and Tanassary, wherto thre jouncks were to be bought at Gingelly, whither Henry Syll had sent for his particuler one thowsand ryalls of eight in mony and one hundreth and nynety ryalls weight [of] gold, valued at 3,600 rials of eight as aforesaied. His behaviour at Masulpatam was verie haughty to that Governor and Chiefs ; where hee, on suspition of theft, did torture (by the Amboynae torture of water) one of those inhabitants (a freeman) to death, who died in the hands of the ministers, notwithstanding that I and the Governor with others entreated and perswaded him therfrom. The Governor in pollicy entreated when he might have commanded, knowing that Henry Sylls courage would be therby the greater to insiste on his owne will, wherby to give cause of advantage unto him and be (by disorder) a meanes to punnish his pride with the greater severity.' This act endangered the stoppage of the Company's investments and the levying of a fine upon Sill, 'which (by advise of his best friends) could not be less then tenn thowsand ryalls of eight, in reguard of the quallety of the offender.' Willoughby, however, with the aid of 'manie well wishers of the English' (especially Mīr Kamāldīn) succeeded in compounding the matter by distributing 200 pagodas 'unto the petty officers of justice'; so that the letter which the Governor had written to the King, informing him of the affair, was recalled, and another sent which related that the deceased had poisoned himself. 'In the time that Mr. Duke was Chief in Masulpatnam, suchlike busines passed by one of your factors there, whoe was theron taken prisoner, soe caried to Hydrabad,[1] sufferinge greate miserie, where a fine was put on him to soe punnish his fact; the which after monthes imprisonment he paid before he was released. Thus it hapning with one whoe was not Chief, how much more (to exact monie) was it likely to have past with Henry Syll, whoe was Chief and came thither in greate pompe with two ships? A former Governor of the Dutch was cruelly handled there

[1] The city of Hyderābād was founded in 1589, under the name of Bhāgnagar. It was often styled Golconda, from the royal residence, though the latter was five miles away. Methwold (*Purchas His Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626, p. 995) speaks of it as being 'called by the natives Golchonda; by the Moores and Persians Hidraband' [misprint for 'Hidrabaud'].

The factor mentioned was probably Francis Futter (see the previous volume, p. 5).

for such another businesse.[1] Henry Sill many times in my hearing hath said that if your shipp *Starr* had not bin on the Coaste, he would take all their jouncks; for what cause, more then to inrich himselfe, I knowe not, and to extirpate you from that trade of Musulpatnam and Pettepully, with its adjoyninge factories, the onely places for providing of white cloth, in theis south factories most requested.' At Petapoli Sill detained 100 pagodas due to the Governor, on the pretence that the latter had guaranteed a debt; thereupon the Company's calicoes were seized and the washers beaten, with the result that Sill was forced to pay the money, 'with shame unto our nacion.' This dispute detained the *Star* almost a month longer than was necessary, and nearly made her lose her monsoon. He also hindered the investments by buying up calicoes at 'Viraacheron' [*see* p. 77] for which Hunter and Grove had contracted on behalf of the Company; this further delayed the ship. Willoughby was excluded from any voice in the management of the Joint Stock's affairs on the Coast until he removed Sill; so that the *Falcon*, for want of six days' enlargement in her commission, returned from Gingelly with little or no lading, as Richard Langham can inform. Sill maintained that he alone was responsible for the Joint Stock; and on a consultation being held, the major part ('it seemes for private trade sake') agreed in that view, and Willoughby's plans were thus frustrated . . . . . . It was supposed that Sill purposely hindered the investments for the *Star*, in the hope that she would be forced to leave part of her goods behind for another year, and that in the meantime he could make use of them for private trade at Pegu, etc. For these offences he was removed by consultation from Armagon to Bantam and his estate sequestrated, until a decision should arrive from Surat. Many plots were practised by Sill, Read, Cartwright, and Tempest for re-establishing Sill, and a number of protests were made. 'The manner of his remove was viz.: After it was by consultacion of the *Starrs* factors on bord her concluded to remove Henry Sill, if to be don without difficulty (wherto, for prevention of his withstanding it by force, not any of those that had lived under him weare caled), I, John Barnes, and William Mathewe, with tenn other of the *Starrs* company, landed betyme in the morning,

[1] See the volume for 1622–24, pp. 315, 316.

without any armes except sword or rapier, wherof each had one, as was fit and usuall; soe went into your fort in civill manner as at former tymes, and went upp into the howse, leaving half of our men belowe to hinder any misunderstanding person from doeing harme, in regard that his, Henry Sills, seconds weare rash young men whoe seemed to much depend on him, as joyned with him in contract. Soe after friendly salutacions I accquaynted him that your affayres required his remove from thence; at which instant I caled a gennerall consultacion, wherat was John Barnes, John Hunter, Nicholas Bix, William Mathewe, Raph Cartwright, Thomas Grove, Thomas Tempest, Osmond Smith, Phillip Bearden, Edward Hall, and Robert Wade; but Henry Syll and Christopher Read his second were kept in their chambers for quietnes sake. Which consultacion sawe by your aforesaid letter . . . that you had appoynted me to suckceede Mr. George Muschampe, whoe having left, the place was then mine; wherefore I was by them acknowledged to be commander over your generall affayres there, for the tyme of my there being. After which I removed Henry Syll, accompanying him unto the waterside; whoe on bord had all the freedom that the shipp could afford (the cabbin excepted), whoe was accomodated in the roundhowse.'[1] Sill continued his malicious practices at Bantam, endeavouring to prevent Willoughby's acceptance there, and calling upon the factors to bring him to account for his proceedings in the matter, a right which belongs only to the Company or to their President at Surat. 'My departure from the Coaste was in very friendly manner, as well at Musulpatnam Pettepully, as at Armagon; whose Chiefs used me courteously, and much desired my retorne as your there continued residence.' Had he not rooted up Sill's private trade there, it would have spread like the Surat contract and done the Company much harm; but for these proceedings he has now been displaced and disgraced, and all who assisted have been treated in like manner. 'Being com on bord this shipp the 24th August in the eavening to wellcom Mr. Skibbowe, etc., I was heere the next morning by him arrested and detayned, he presenting me a warrant therto from Mr. Thomas Rastel, President, and his Councell.' . . . . He is accused of

[1] See *O.C.* 1377 for a similar account of the incident, signed by Willoughby, Barnes, and seven others.

having injured the adventurers in the Joint Stock by showing partiality for the Second General Voyage, as for instance in collecting the debts of the latter but leaving the others still owing. Repudiates these accusations, and explains his proceedings about the debts.... Himself kept the accounts at the Coast, as Hunter was employed on other duties...... Read, Cartwright, and Tempest refused at Armagon to give any help or advice to the factors of the *Star*, and were therefore excluded from consultation. Sill was supposed to be very rich, but they were unable to discover much beyond his adventure to Gingelly. He is accused of defrauding the Company at Jambi....... Willoughby complains of the way in which he is now kept a close prisoner...... (*Copy*. 8 *pp*. *Received July* 1, 1632.)

EXAMINATION OF LAWRENCE HENLEY, NICHOLAS NORBURY, THOMAS FLETCHER, JAMES BIRKDELL, RICHARD HARRISON, BENJAMIN OWEN, AND JOHN CARTER REGARDING THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST SILL AND READ, OCTOBER 1, 1631 (*O.C.* 1381).[1]

1. The house belonging to the Second Joint Stock at Masulipatam was well able to accommodate the goods and servants of the Second General Voyage. 2. Express orders were sent from Armagon to take a separate house for the Voyage. 3. Hunter offered to hire the Governor's house at Armagon to dwell in. 4. They know of no private trade carried to the Coast by Sill or Read. 5. Two bales of private trade were returned on the *Dove* by Sill, but they know of no more. 6. The six bales of 'sallampores' bought at Vīravāsaram were purchased on the Company's account. 7. Henley admits receiving money at Petapoli from Sill for investment on behalf of the Company. 8. On November 12, 1630, when the factors for the Joint Stock dissolved their factory at Masulipatam and the *Falcon* sailed for Petapoli, the factors of the Second General Voyage had only bought 14 bales of goods at Petapoli. 9. They deny that Sill's demeanour towards the Governor of that place was prejudicial to the Company or caused any delay to the *Falcon*. 10. The detention of money and washers was not pre-

[1] In answer to a requisition addressed by the accused to Skibbow, Hoare, and the Council at Bantam, September 23, 1631 (*O.C.* 1376). The queries will be found there in detail, but they may be inferred from the replies here given.

judicial, except for a loss of 100 pagodas to the Joint Stock. 11. Petapoli is acknowledged by all seamen to be a better and safer road than Masulipatam in November and December. 12. Sill and Read never to their knowledge had any private trade with the Dutch. 13. The two 'leagers' [casks] of silk belonging to a Dutchman[1] were licensed by the President and Council for transport to Masulipatam. 14. Willoughby licensed the two Danish factors to take passage in the *Falcon* for Bantam with four bales of goods. 15. Sill neither used nor intended any hostility or violence towards the junks of the Coromandel Coast. 16. The English formerly at Masulipatam have inflicted corporal punishment upon their native servants, 'but how warrantable it is they knowe not.' 17. They are of opinion that, if the porter of the English house there was guilty of the offence with which he was charged, he deserved punishment. 18. None of those examined was present at the time, but it is generally conceived that his death was not intended. 19. The death of the said porter was neither hindrance nor charge to the Company. 20. None of those examined heard of any intent to bury the body in the English yard. 21, 22. They affirm that Sill and Read delivered to Willoughby in October particulars of goods befitting their several factories, and Henley supplied him with a similar list of English commodities vendible in Masulipatam and Armagon. 23. Henley and Read gave Willoughby a statement of the estate of the Joint Stock on the Coast. 24. The general letter for Surat was fully finished in October last. 25, 26. Sill sent two or three times to Willoughby to know whether his letters for Surat were ready, but the answer was always that they were not. On November 2 or 3 he sent again, but Willoughby replied that he was not well and would not endanger his health for the Company's estate. 27. Willoughby did not acquaint Sill with his dispeed of letters for Surat on November 2. 28. Sill detained Henley in Masulipatam till November 7 in order to subscribe Willoughby's letters for England and Surat, but these were not communicated to them until the 6th. 29. Willoughby always seemed 'invective unto' the Joint Stock's estate, and often wished it 'drowned in the sea'. 30. He reported that the adventurers in the Second General Voyage had rather the whole

[1] Allardo Vesterman (*Dagh-Register*, 1631-34, p. 6, etc.).

estate of the Joint Stock should perish than that their own Voyage should not prosper upon the Coast. *Signatures attested by Skibbow, Hoare, Vernworthy, and Bangham.* (5 *pp.*)

JOHN BARNES, ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES* AT BANTAM, TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 4, 1631 (*O.C.* 1384).[1]

Explains and excuses the part he took in seizing Sill at Armagon and deporting him to Bantam. Returning from Jambi on September 21 with his ship the *Star*, he found Willoughby a prisoner on board the *Royal James*, in which manner he, the writer, William Matthew, Edward Hall, Gilbert Gardner, and Philip Bearden are to be carried to Surat, as if they were malefactors. Writes now to defend his honest name and repute, and in case he should die before he has the opportunity of clearing himself. Encloses a note which he has obtained from Willoughby, formally demanding his assistance in arresting Sill. (2 *pp. Received July* 1, 1632.)

JOHN SKIBBOW AND JOHN BANGHAM AT BANTAM TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 5, 1631 (*O.C.* 1385).[2]

By order of the President and Council of Surat they embarked in the *Royal James* and *Blessing* on April 27, and after a tedious passage arrived (in the former vessel) at Bantam on August 24. They were ordered by commission to apprehend Agent Willoughby and bring him to Surat to answer for 'some exorbytancies committed on the Coast of Choromandell'; and with him Messrs. Matthew, Grove, Barnes, Hall, Gardner, and Bearden. Further, they were instructed to carry to Surat Sill and Read, whom Willoughby had seized by violence at Armagon, 'planting there John Hunter of his owne faction, for whose remove the *William* was by the President, etc., sent to the Coast (comming allsoe from Surat in our company); in whome they sent John Norris and Thomas Robinson, with commission to send John Hunter and Osmond Smith, corporall in the fort, to Suratt, to answere to such demands as they had to proponde unto them.' In accordance with instructions, have established William Hoare as Agent in place

[1] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.
[2] Another copy (dated October 6) is among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

of Willoughby, with Messrs. Vernworthy, Henley, and Croft as Council. Factors much needed. Hoare does not intend to stay long, and Henley is 'decrepite in his hands and feete', but will 'doe his endevour' till assistance arrives; while in the subordinate factories some are dead and others crave to be gone. The President and Council of Surat, hearing from Persia that it would be undesirable for the fleet expected from England to make Gombroon their first port, dispatched a pinnace to Madagascar and the Comoros, to warn them to wait for the *William*, *James*, and *Blessing*, and then to proceed to Surat. On learning from letters received from Bantam that the fleet would consist only of two ships and a pinnace, which, even with the addition of the *William*, would not be strong enough to encounter the Portuguese, it was decided to send the *Blessing* to join them without further loss of time, while the *James* took on her cargo to Bantam. The former sailed accordingly on August 16, leaving the latter about eight leagues north of 'Ballambeen pointe' [*see* p. 148]. . . . . . . Doubt not that the Company have heard from Surat of the great famine in those parts and throughout India, 'insoemuch that all trade is decayed, most of the weavers and washers being dead,' and should there be no rain this last westerly monsoon the whole country will be desolated . . . . . . Skibbow intends, on his return to Surat, to take the first opportunity of going home. (3½ *pp. The remaining three pages deal with affairs at Bantam, etc.*)

HENRY SILL, ABOARD THE *ROYAL JAMES* AT BANTAM, TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 5, 1631 (*O.C.* 1386).

Protests against his imprisonment and the sequestration of his estate. Had Willoughby's commission 'extended as well to my life as to my body and goods . . . . I should have accepted in theise troubles as an end of my miseries'. Ascribes Tempest's death to the tyrannical usage of his captors. Will not trouble the Company with a rehearsal of his story. If (as was reported both at Armagon and here) they gave a private commission to seize him wherever he was found, he will not be so foolhardy as to strike against the stream. Thinks it evident from Willoughby's proceedings that he had some private order to further the Second General Voyage at the expense of the Second Joint Stock. Sill has suffered for his

fidelity to the latter, while always ready to help the former to the best of his ability. Cannot send copies of protests made against Willoughby and the rest, as some are not in his custody; but supposes the President at Surat and the Agent here will supply the Company with transcripts. One of their charges against Willoughby was concerning a missing parcel of diamonds, but the latter have since come to hand, with some other jewels. Is grieved to learn that he is hardly censured in London for his letter by the *Mary*. Explains a matter connected therewith. In this, as for the rest, he casts himself upon the Company's favour, not doubting that they will vindicate his right. (4 *pp.*)

MESSRS. SKIBBOW, HOARE, VERNWORTHY, BANGHAM, AND HENLEY AT BANTAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 6, 1631 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 549).

Answer some points in the Surat letter of April 22. Previous letters will have informed them as to the sorts of Indian calicoes required, and the remittances necessary for the provision of pepper and cloves. The accounts of the Second Joint Stock are sent herewith. Division of charges between that stock and the Second General Voyage. Will do their best to sell the calicoes sent, but there is no demand for them at present. Willoughby has been arrested, according to instructions. Hoare accepts the post of Agent, but desires to be relieved of it as soon as possible, being anxious to return to England. Henley thanks them for their generosity; he will do his best when restored to health, but at present he is quite incapacitated by sickness. Sill and Read are sent in the *James* as ordered; but their services will be much missed and their speedy return is desirable. With them goes William Matthew, who is commended as an honest man and pitied for having been led away by Willoughby. Further accounts enclosed. Private trade might be the better put down if all ships while at Bantam were placed under the orders of the Agent and Council, who would then try to 'prevent that China markett which is kept aboord them', and hinders the sale of the Company's goods for months after. Have made inquiries into the private trade said to have been sent on the *Falcon* and *Dove* (to the value of 80,000

rials according to Willoughby), but cannot find any grounds for the charge. Explanations regarding Vesterman's two butts of raw silk sent to the Coast. Precautions taken against the purchase of spices, etc., by the crew of the *James*. Factors retained. Thomas Clark taken ashore to act as steward at Japara. A fresh supply of factors needed. Note the contents of the Company's letter to Surat (now returned), and will duly respect the powers therein conferred on Rastell and his Council. Have surrendered to Skibbow, as desired, the royal commission to this Presidency. Have laden in the *James* all the sugar, rice, etc., that they could get; but the President and Council are mistaken in thinking that large quantities of sugar are available here. This place affords very little and that of poor quality; 'nor would the store heere made suffice Battavia aloane, were it ten tymes multiplied.' Rice will be got from Macassar and Japara. . . . 'Richondas Hass,[1] a Bannyan, and his consort Hirgee wee have dismissed the Companies service and retourned them both upon this shipp, for reasons expressed in our formers; desireing that neyther any more of their cast nor any others with goods to sell may be permitted to take passage hither upon our shipps, in regard wee find them very prejudiciall to the Companies business.' . . . On October 1 the barge of the *London* brought news of the approach of that ship and the *Palsgrave*; also letters from the Company, copies of which are enclosed. The Agent and Council are much grieved to find that no money has been sent in these vessels, and earnestly entreat a supply from Surat. By these letters Hoare is ordered home. He begs that a supply of factors may be sent, including one to take charge, in order that he may return to England and answer the charges made against him. A chest of camphor sent in the *James*; also 25 tons of cloves on account of the Second General Voyage . . . . Money to be paid to Vīrjī Vōra. . . . The *Palsgrave* and *London* arrived on October 4. . . . The 'Banyan Richondas' has absconded, but he is not indebted to the Company, and if he cannot be found it will be 'a faire riddance'. Refer to Skibbow and Bangham for further information. *PS.*—There is a quantity of private trade on board the *James* returned unsold. It

[1] In a draft letter (not sent) from Bantam to Surat of this date, this individual is called 'Recondass, a Bannian who was formerly entertained the Companies servant heere by Mr. Muschampe' (*O.C.* 1364). Possibly his real name was Rukman Dās (see p. 55).

is feared that enough has been disposed of to cloy this market for months to come. Have been unable to discover the owners, and could not detain the ship while they made further inquiries. (*Copy*. 9 *pp*.)

William Hoare at Bantam to Joseph Hopkinson at Surat, October 6, 1631 (*O.C.* 1387).

Begs him, should Willoughby assert anything to the prejudice or disrepute of the writer, to defend and justify him. Sends a piece of crimson damask as a token. *PS.*—Recommends Sill and Read to his acquaintance. They will give him full particulars of what has passed here. Begs to be remembered to Bickford and Suffield. (1 *p*.)

[ ][1] aboard the *Royal James*, under sail from Bantam Road, to the Company, October 7, 1631 (*O.C.* 1318).

Little has occurred since he wrote from Persia. The Portuguese gave them no further trouble at Surat. The ships left that port very late, through the delay in bringing down goods caused by the scarcity of carts and camels owing to the famine; and consequently the voyage was a very long and tedious one. In unlading the goods at Bantam, he found great store of private trade (over 200 bales, according to the purser), but whose they were he does not know. He is certain that Rastell was not aware of this, as he 'tacketh a stricter cours then any that ever I knew in the depressinge of privatt trayd'. On reaching Surat the writer will cause the purser to deliver the bales by inventory to the President, who will thus be enabled to give the Company full information. The ship is tight and well-conditioned, and there has been but little mortality among the men. The distraction among the factors is out of the writer's element. Forbears to enlarge, as he hopes to be home soon after this letter arrives. (1 *p*.)

[1] The writer has forgotten to sign. The letter is endorsed as received by the *Palsgrave*, July 1, 1632, 'no name subscribed, but I take it to be a mariner.' Internal evidence suggests that it was written by Matthew Morton, the captain.

The *James* lost her monsoon for Surat and was forced to return to Bantam, whereupon ensued fresh squabbles, for which the reader may be referred to Mr. Sainsbury's calendar, as they have no bearing upon Indian affairs.

James Slade, Matthew Wills, John Roberts, Humphrey Pynn, and William Minors, aboard the *Mary* [at Swally], to the Company, December 9, 1631 (*O.C.* 1407).

The fleet, consisting of the *Mary*, *Exchange*, and *Speedwell*, left the Downs on February 2, and passed the Canaries on the 20th. The next day they met Capt. Roe in a small ship belonging to 'Millbrooke',[1] to whom a brief letter was entrusted. They crossed the line on March 22, and passed 'Cape Boone Esperance' on May 12. On May 30 they reached the Bay of St. Augustine, where they found the pinnace *Intelligence* with letters from Surat, requiring them to wait at Johanna until August 20 for the *James*, *Blessing*, and *William*. Also found there 'a smale shipp named the *Seahorse*, of burthen about 100 tuns, belonginge to our Kings Majestie and ymediately sett out by him (one Capt. Richard Quaile comaunder), as by comission under His Majesties hand and seale appeareth, with instruccions alsoe annexed thereunto to goe for the Redd Sea and there to make purchase [prize] (as well as anywhere elce) of any he could meete with that were not frends or allyes unto His Majestie. Haveinge seene his comission and the force of it, and alsoe the examinacion of his people, whome wee deteyned as prisoners aboard our severall shipps, and findinge nothinge that he had done contrary to his comission, it was generally thought safest to release him and his people, after wee had deteyned them and theire shipp two daies. I hope what wee have done wilbe acceptable to Your Worshipps, although wee know his ymployment in theis parts and upon such designes cannot be pleaseinge, nor hath not bin to any of us.' Having refreshed their crews and refitted their ships, they sailed on June 21 and reached Johanna on July 1. Mr. Burley, master of the *Intelligence*, had informed them that, owing to the famine in India, the *James* and other ships had been forced to buy provisions in Persia at very dear rates ; so they resolved to open a chest of rials and buy rice and other fresh victuals for the ships, in order to save their sea stores. In this way they expended 1,700 rials of eight. 'The rice wee had 100 lb. neate for one royall ; gravances [*see the* 1618–21 *volume*, p. 121] 175 lbs. for one royall ;

[1] Near Saltash, in Cornwall.

melio[1] (another sort [of] graine) and paddy wee had likewise 175 lbs. for one royall.' On August 30 [*sic*] they heard of the arrival of the *William* at Mohilla, and received a letter from the President and Council of Surat, ordering them to wait for the *James* and *Blessing* until the end of August, and also directing them to come straight to Surat. Further, they were instructed to procure all the rice and other grain procurable, 'not only for our owne stores, but for the market in India.' In this they did their uttermost, but could not get much, as the advice came so late; however, the small quantity they have brought (which cost not above 400 rials), if sold at current prices, will defray the charge of all they purchased at the Comoros or in Madagascar. Having waited for the time appointed, the fleet sailed for India on September 1; and on October 6 met the *Blessing* on the coast of India. Owing to their late departure from Surat she and the *James* lost their monsoon, with the result that the former had to return before reaching the Straits of Sunda, while the latter is not likely to be able to get back to Surat this season. The result will be that the *William* and the *Blessing* will lack pepper to stow among their goods, to the hindrance and loss of the Company. On October 7 they met with nine Dutch ships from Batavia, with whom they kept company till they reached Swally, which was on the 14th. 'Here at our arrivall wee found the Presidentt in health, but all the merchants in this factory either dead or sicke, those liveinge hardly able to helpe one another; the towne itselfe and all the countrey adjoyneing in a manner unpeopled. Soe that the tymes here are soe miserable that never in the memory of man any the like famine and mortallity hapened. This that was in a manner the garden of the world is nowe turned into a wildernes, haveinge fewe or noe men left to manure theire grownd nor to labour in any profession; soe that places here that have yealded 15 bayles cloath made there in a day hardly yealds nowe three in a moneth. Amadavaz, that likewise yealded 3,000 bayles indico yearely or more, nowe hardly yealds 300; yett a plentifull yeare for yts grouth, but fewe men liveinge to gather it, but lies rottinge on the grownd. Agra hath

[1] Possibly the Port. *milho*, 'maize.' In May's account of the voyage of Lancaster to the East in 1591 (as given by Hakluyt) mention is made of 'certaine corne called millio' which was found in a boat captured near Mozambique.

not bin toucht with this famine nor mortallity, but continewes in its former estate; but that place affords little to satisfie soe maney buyers, espctially the Dutch and English towards the ladinge of our shipps; and whatt we shall doe to gaine our ladinge against the next yeare God Almightie only knowes, for wee knowe not. And yours and our unhappines is the more for the losse of Mr. Rastell, our late Presidentt, whoe deceased the 7th November last, and left not a man behind him in this factory Suratt able to manadge your affaires in theis miserable and distracted tymes. Mr. Hopkinson is left only that knowes your busines, but is soe sicke and weake that he is not able to performe whatt he should endeavour. Those that live in the subordinate factoris have likewise bin sicke, but at present wee heare are well recovered, vizt. Mr. Mountney at Amadavaz, Mr. Rann at Cambay, Mr. Joyce at Broatch, Mr. Witch at Brawdro [Baroda].' The dispatch of their caravan for Ahmadābād (carrying all last year's quicksilver and other goods, with some of the chests of rials lately arrived) was delayed by the sickness and death of the President, and still more by the perfidious dealing of the Governor of Surat. The result will be that the goods from Ahmadābād, etc., cannot be at Surat till at least the middle of January; so that the fleet will probably be forced to start for Persia without waiting for them, as otherwise they may miss their monsoon for Bantam, like the *James* and *Blessing*. This letter is sent by the Dutch, who are now under sail for Gombroon, whence two of their ships will return to Holland. The factors have a quantity of goods (indigo, cotton yarn, and saltpetre) ready for shipment for England, but the Governor delays their passage through the customhouse, his purpose being apparently to prevent the ships from starting without some Persian friends of his, whose goods have not yet come down, and also to have their protection for some junks which are likewise bound for Persia. The *William* and *Blessing* are both intended for England and probably one of them will be dispatched direct from Persia, if the goods here can be got on board. About half the indigo and saltpetre has been embarked, and they hope to receive the rest shortly; they will then immediately set sail. 'Your busines in our oppinions would have gone better forward had wee not bin diverted from your first injuncions for Persia.' The goods consigned to Surat are all landed, but are come to a most miserable market,

especially the quicksilver and vermilion; the price of both at present is not above three mahmūdīs a seer, in regard of the great quantities brought by this Dutch fleet. That sent last year was still undelivered when the fleet arrived, and payment (at 140 mahmūdīs per maund) was not due till four months after delivery in Ahmadābād. Last year's coral is also lying in the factory, but whether sold or not the writers are uncertain. The *James*, *William*, and *Blessing* sailed on April 27, and got off the coast with much difficulty. The *William* left the other two on May 14 and proceeded to Armagon, where she arrived nine days later. Captain Wills was ordered to bring away John Hunter (made Chief there by Willoughby) and Osmond Smith, the Lieutenant of the Fort. In their places John Norris was left Chief, with Thomas Robinson for assistant, and Robert Adams as Lieutenant. The *William* sailed again on June 4, rounded Madagascar on August 5th, reached Mohilla on the 13th and came to Johanna on the 20th. The *Hopewell* arrived at Armagon about June 25, and will remain there until the middle of the present month. 'Att our arrivall here at Port Swalley wee understood by the Presidentt of Capt. Quayls arrivall some 20 dayes before us, and of his then beinge in the River of Surratt. Wee likewise understood that he had taken two Mallabarrs juncks on the coast of Arrabia, out of which he gott some smale quantity of offim [opium] and some other pillage of smale value. Since his arrivall here he hath had great mortallity amonge his people, insoemuch that of 50 men brought out of England he hath lost 27; the remainer for the most parte very sicke and weake. God send all noe better successe that come out on such designes.' (*Copy*. 5 *pp*.)

A Dutch Factor at Surat to a Member of the Dutch Council at Batavia, December $\frac{11}{21}$, 1631 (*O.C.* 1408).[1]

'After our departure from Batavia wee arived att Suratt the 23th [13th O. S.] October last. And goinge ashore to a villadg called Swalley, wee sawe there manie people that perished of hunger; and wheras hertofore there were in that towne 260 famillyes, ther was not remaininge alive above 10 or 11 famillyes. And as wee travelled from thence to the cytty of Suratt, manie dead bodyes

[1] Translated extracts, probably sent home from Bantam. The original was dated from aboard the *Amboina*.

laye uppon the hye way ; and where they dyed they must consume of themselfes, beinge nobody that would buirey them. And when wee came into the cytty of Suratt, wee hardly could see anie livinge persons, where hertofore was thousands; and ther is so great a stanch of dead persons that the sound people that came into the towne were with the smell infected, and att the corners of the streets the dead laye 20 togeather, one upon thother, nobody buir[y]ing them. The mortallyty in this towne is and hath bin so great that there have dyed above 30,000 people. The Englishe house and ours is as yf one came into the hospitall of Bata[via]. Ther is dead of the Englishe factors 10 or 11 persons, and of ours 3. Those that remaine alive of the Englishe are verey sorowfull for the death of Mr. Rastall, their President, who dyed about 20 dayes sythence. In these parts ther may not bee anie trade expected this three yeares. No man can goe in the streets but must resolve to give great almes or be in danger of being murthered, for the poore people cry with a loude voice : "Give us sustenance or kill us." The faire feilds herabout are all drowned with great fluds and the fruits of the earth cleane washed away with these waters. The waters were so highe in the cytty, by reason of the fludds, that wee could passe from one house to the other butt by boats ; which was never knowne in the memory of anie livinge man. The Englishe shippes and ours arived here togeather. And upon the admirall of the Englishe came a great lord, being the brother-in-law of Buckingham, called the Earle of Denbigh. Ytt is conceaved that hee cometh ambassador to the Mogoll ; which the tyme will shew. Her is also arived a small shipp called by the name of the Kinge of England shipp, with a strong comission ; the principall comaunder therof is called Captaine Quaile, and his leyftennant Mr. Robertson [Robinson]. This captaine hath bin in the Redd Sea att Mocha, and from thence hath brought no small store of ducketts ; butt the certainty herof I cannot learne. The Kings comission given hime is to saile round about the world and to give the Kinge accompt therof. Hee caryes out the Kings flagg, in despyte of the Englishe that lye in the Roade, and they maye not putt out anie other flagg then the whyte flagg with the redd crosse.[1] Ther is great opposi-

[1] By a royal proclamation issued in April, 1605, all British ships were ordered to wear in the maintop the Union flag (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 645). This was abrogated

cions betweene them, which seemeth strange to us. The Kings captaine came with his comission to our Governor and desired helpe and water from us in spyte of his owne nation, for his company is verey sickly.' (3 *pp.*)

John Skibbow and John Bangham, aboard the *James* in Bantam Road, to the Company, December 22, 1631 (*O.C.* 1410).[1]

Sailed for Surat on October 7, but found it impossible to proceed, the monsoon being settled, and therefore returned to this place on November 6. Captain Morton, immediately after leaving Bantam, fell sick 'of the barbiers',[2] and died on November 21. Disposal of his private trade goods. Pepper and cloves borrowed and bought by the *James* from the Joint Stock. Willoughby and Barnes applied to be sent home in the *Palsgrave*, but this was refused as against the orders from Surat. Private trade aboard the *James*. Changes among ships' officers ; John White placed in charge of the *James*. The *Palsgrave* about to sail for England. The *James* will proceed to Mauritius, to recover her sick men, and in the hope that she will there receive directions from Surat for meeting the next fleet. If the *William* or *Blessing* (or both) be met there, arrangements may be made for two out of the three to be dispatched to England with the combined cargoes. This failing, the *James* will remain at Mauritius till June and then go to St. Augustine's Bay or Johanna to meet the fleet from England. The Dutch are sending home five ships from Batavia this year, besides about three more from Surat. 'Itt seemes all goes nott well betwixt England and them, for they have order not to send their shippes through the Channell, butt to goe aboute the back side of Ireland and

in May, 1634, when another proclamation (*ibid.*, vol. xix. p. 549) directed that in future only the King's ships should carry the Union flag, all other English vessels being restricted to 'the red cross, commonly called St. George his cross'. It would seem from the text that Quail (following perhaps a custom which had grown up at home, but had not yet received formal sanction) insisted that the Company's vessels should not fly the Union flag when a royal ship was present.

[1] Another copy is among the *O.C. Duplicates*, and there is an abstract in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 145.

[2] A species of paralysis, by some considered to be allied to *beriberi* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., pp. 67, 87).

Scotland.' A supply of factors much needed. No news received from Surat. 'From the Coast of Corromandell, by letters in Julye, they advise that it had nott rayned there, and the dearthe and famine continued and likely to encrease. Wee hope God hathe been mercifull in releeving the northerne partes.' Concerning the *Hopewell* they have only heard of her arrival at Armagon. (4 *pp. Received July* 1, 1632.)

JOHN NORRIS, RALPH CARTWRIGHT, AND EMANUEL ALTHAM[1] AT ARMAGON TO THE AGENT AND COUNCIL AT BANTAM, DECEMBER 24, 1631 (*O.C.* 1411).

With much trouble they have procured and shipped on the *Hopewell* 269 bales of goods, which, though not answerable to expectations, are the best the time would afford. If the Company were aware of the losses they sustain by 'these posting voyages', they would apply the remedy so often pointed out, viz. 'meanes aforehand for tymely investments'. The invoice will show how all sorts of the 'cargazoone' demanded have been reduced; this is due to the 'miserable tymes, full fraught with the calamitie of warr, pestilence, and famine'. About 40 bales more were purchased, but could not be brought down to the coast, and must therefore remain until next year. When writing last (on September 8, by a Danish vessel) they anticipated that the *Hopewell* would leave here by the end of October; and this they would undoubtedly have effected, had not the occasions aforesaid disabled all ('as well our commatees [*kōmati*, a merchant: *see the* 1622–23 *volume*, p. 135] as washers') from keeping their engagements. Hope, however, that the ship will receive a quick dispatch from Bantam and thereby be enabled still to get to Macassar. 'Hir voyage to Bengala (by reason of foule weather not permitting to land hir goods) fayled of its expected successe; yet proved not altogether frutelesse, having thereby laid a good begining to a future hopefull trade, when wee shalbee thereto inabled.' For next season they have contracted in Petapoli for about 70 bales of goods, to be delivered in six months, at rates nearly six per cent. cheaper than those recently

[1] Appointed by the Company 'Factor and Captain of the Fort at Armagon', with a salary of 50*l.*, on Oct. 27, 1630. He went out in the *Hopewell.*

paid; which shows what could be done if they had means beforehand, 'till when the goodnesse of these partes cannot bee truly discerned, nor you supplied as is necessary'. The letter from Surat will show the miserable state of that country, which cannot possibly be restored to its pristine condition for many years. This may induce the Bantam factors to raise the price of their [Indian] commodities, especially as the Dutch are like to fail of their supplies hence this year, none of their ships being yet arrived. The same letter will show what directions have been given from Surat for the conduct of business here. 'The Gennerall of the Danes hath provided in Maslipatan another cargazone for Maccasser, intending in a flute[1] to accompanie itt thither; but the report goeth shee is unservisable, which if true, hee must attend with patience untill the next yeare, and spend the interim in repairing of his two rotten vessells. It is marvelous to see what great benefitt that trade hath produced unto him; and would bee worth our partaking, had wee but meanes accordinglie; for cloves are here the sole commoditie in request, and (if well bought att Maccasser) will yeild cent. per cent. profitt. Sandallwood and turtleshells will also offe at good rates; our Europian commodities being at present a drugg. At the instant request of the Danes Gennerall, wee have given lycence to two of his cheefe people[2] to take theire passage for Bantam on the *Hopewell*. They intend for England on some of our shipps; which, as you see occasion, maie bee permitted them. They are men of quallitie, and their master, the King of Denmarke, will doubtlesse gratifie the Company in as great a measure as that courtesie can desearve.' At the request of the Governor of Pulicat, they have also allowed an Englishman (a freeman of the Dutch) to take passage for Batavia. Could not supply the 40 pieces of fine 'beetelias' asked for, owing to the wars, 'which have shutt upp the passage from Golcondah, so as nought can bee transported from thence'; have, however, procured here 21 pieces of better quality than usual, and these are now sent. Forward their last year's accounts for transmission to Surat. The cape merchant of this ship, Mr. John Reeve, has been furnished, in obedience to the Company's orders, with copies of all transactions on the Coast since

[1] Fr. *flûte*, a flyboat. Some kind of country vessel seems to be here intended.
[2] One of these was named Nicholas Rutter (*Court Minutes*, Sept. 22, 1632).

the arrival of the *Hopewell*. Their brevity is due to want of time. (*Copy. 3 pp. Received at Bantam January* 26, 1632, *and in London September* 4, 1632.)

Consultation held [in Surat], December 29, 1631 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 147).

Joseph Hopkinson is unanimously elected President, on account of his 'long experience and approved sufficiencie'. Mountney is made 'Accomptant', with Edward Knipe 'to write under him'. Wyche to be Warehousekeeper, and Glascock 'to followe the customehouse buisines'. Joyce is appointed Purser-General, and Dunscomb 'Register'. Mountney, Wyche, and Joyce 'to assist the President in Councell'. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

Charges against Richard Wylde (*O.C.* 1412).

A. *By John Skibbow's letter from Surat dated December* 31, 1631 [1630?]. (1) That Skibbow's journey to Agra was very chargeable to the Company without any benefit resulting; and was occasioned by Wylde's treaty in private with the Governor of Surat about the surprise of Diu. [*In margin* 'By consultation, 25 July, 1628'.] (2) That Wylde returned on the *Exchange* out of the Red Sea 51 bales of goods to the value of 32,000 mahmūdīs, put the Company's mark on them, and sent them in the *Mary* to Bantam for the Company's account as bought for money; and they being 'braided' [i.e. faded or tarnished] goods, the Company scarce recovered their principal. ['Bookes affirme it.'] (3) That similarly eleven bales of indigo returned from Mokha (part of a quantity sent thither by him) were entered as bought of 'Cann Shraffe' for money and laden on the *Blessing* for England on the Company's account. ['Books affirme.'] (4) That 54 bales of steel belonging to Wylde came back from Mokha, besides what was sold there; and that he had more goods in that voyage than the Company had, to their great charge. (5) That with the abovesaid money he bought a parcel of cloves, whereby he gained 31,000 mahmūdīs. (6) That he refused to pay a bill drawn by Mr. Burt. ['Bookes and letters affirme it.'] (7) That he blotted out of the Company's letters a clause about Mr. Page's coming home, before they were

read in council. [' Quere of the truth.'] (8) That he gave passports under his own hand, whereby Captain Swanley let go a prize, as is supposed. [' Confessed.'] (9) That he agreed for Deccan goods privately, without Council; and that of those bought and sent home by the *Charles's* fleet he secretly took out for his own use above 20,000 mahmūdīs [*in margin* ' Being fine sallowes prohibited by letters '], and afterwards sold them again to buy diamonds, being to greater profit. [' Denied.'] (10) That he gave presents to excess; and that he put to account 400 mahmūdīs for his own sea-provisions homewards, besides 1,481 mahmūdīs for provisions for the great cabin. [' But he paid the money to Suffield.']

B. *Out of Boothby's books of complaints.* (1) That 19 bales of Wylde's goods were landed and put into the Company's warehouse, and while Boothby was employed about them the customs of great sums of money were stolen. (2) He suspects that the President had a share with the shroff and broker in pepper bought, being full of dust. (3) That the custom of 40,000*l.* was stolen in the *Jonas's* fleet from England, and in the *Blessing* from Bantam, ' wherin the Company have borne verry great adventures.' (4) That Skibbow's needless journey to Agra cost the Company 300*l.* (5) That the President alone buys and sells, takes up at interest, steals customs, grants passports, etc., without the consent of Council. (6) That he lends money to merchants and mariners for private trade at 18 or 20 per cent. [' Denied.'] (7) Boothby names certain witnesses who can give information regarding the stealing of customs in 1628. (8) That Gregory Clement reported that he had much to say against the President for overrating Deccan goods sent to England and undervaluing English gold. [' Denied.'] (9) That Thomas Turner knows of the private trade and contract made with the ' southerne factours '; that Wylde sent to Bantam some unvendible goods of his own returned from Mokha, which he put to the Company's account; also that his practice was to buy pepper in the rains and afterwards put it to the Company's account at 1½ and 2 mahmūdīs per maund profit. That he knew of the stealing of custom for 16,000*l.* or 17,000*l.* out of the *Blessing.* That Wylde sent 3,000*l.* in the *Exchange* to Mokha. That he carries his private trade in Banians' names as if it were their goods freight free, in regard of the Company's engagements to them. (10) That custom

is also stolen for strangers (Armenians, Moors, and Persians), and the English house is made a receptacle for colouring the same. (11) That 'Gourdas' the broker and 'Cann Shraffe' govern all the Company's affairs and have been coadjutors for raising the President's great estate. (12) That Captain Swanley captured a junk (which afterwards proved no prize), part of whose goods could not be taken into the ship because she was full of private trade, 'wherein the President and Counsaile were deepe,' whereby the Company lost 10,000 mahmūdīs in repayment of the prize goods in her. (13) That indigo was sent down from Agra for the President's account in a caravan the cost of which was charged to the Company; and that Wylde desired Clement to write that this indigo was for Mīrzā Mahmūd. (14) That Jādū the broker was forgiven a debt of nine or ten thousand rupees, 'and he in greater creditt then before,' although Wylde wrote to Clement that Jādū was a dangerous knave and had cozened the Company. (15) That Wylde wrote to Nathaniel Mountney of the receipt of a parcel of diamonds bought for him, and desired him to buy two more. (16) That he sent the *Blessing* to Bantam chiefly for his own ends. (17) That he challenged Capt. Weddell the field in his homeward voyage. (18) That he had a project to force all the pursers in India to certify that he was no private trader, 'wherin he exceeded all others.' (19) That he granted passes, whereby one junk (supposed a prize) was released, and another was excused from paying custom; for which it is suspected that he had a bribe. (20) That he incited Weddell to displace Purser Lloyd, 'because he could not bring him to his bow.' (21) That gold was sent to Ahmadābād at great risk and there sold at a lower rate than at Surat, merely to prevent the Governor from discovering that duty had not been paid upon it. ($3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD [IN SURAT], JANUARY 1, 1632 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 147).

As the Cambay goods have not arrived, and Mr. Allen avers that no others are suitable for Sumatra, it is decided to abandon the idea of sending the *Speedwell* thither, and to dispatch her with the fleet to Persia instead. On her return she is to go with the other ships to Bantam and thence proceed to Sumatra. (*Copy.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

THOMAS WATTS, MASTER OF THE *HOPEWELL*, AT BANTAM TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 2 [29?], 1632 (*O.C.* 1413).

The ship reached Armagon on June 25, 1631, and sailed on July 4 for Masulipatam, which was reached four days later. 'In the time of our aboade in this place it was agreed upon by the Agent and Counsell that wee should proceed of a voiag into the Bay of Bangalla. All thinges beinge fully effected as conveniency requiered, the 29 of July wee sett saile one our pretended voiag, our first desine beinge for Calapara[1], in which place there lay in garison a great More, whose nam was Bacarcaune[2], with a g[reat] army both of foote and horse, without whose leave wee could [not] be sufered to trade in those partes. The 3 of August we ankered [in] the road of Calapara, being neare abought 100 leagges to the n[orth] of Meslapatame. The next day, all things being prepared, our mercha[nts] went ashore in our shallop, carieing alonge with them a gr[eat] boate that wee brought from Mesl[apatam]. Comeing to the rivers mouth, we found an extreordinary bar to pase over there and very daingerous; yet we, knoweing that the hopes of our voiage should bee frustrate without the parformance of this our first intention, under the fear and servis of God ventured our boates through this most fearefull and daingerous sufe, haveing noe other meanes to performe it; and at that time (praised be to God) got safly into the river; where our merchantes and men found such entertainment by this great More as they could desier. Theyer bisnes being compl[ ]ished according to theyer demand, mad meanes againe [to get ?] aboard; whereupon the shalop mad meanes to get over this daingerous bar back againe, the which semed to human capacity a mater imposible, and wase thrice sunck thereupon ventereing over; yet (praised be to God) saved both boate

[1] This place, we are told, was about 100 leagues from Masulipatam and about 20 from Mānikpatam, and lay at the mouth of a river with a dangerous bar. Ganjām answers roughly to this description, but in that case it is difficult to explain the name. Calingapatam seems a more likely identification from the latter point of view, especially if we may assume that Calingapura was an alternative form; but then Calingapatam is 130 miles from Mānikpatam. Mr. Neil Macmichael, I.C.S., suggests that Gopālpur, 12 miles south of Ganjām, may be the place intended. It has a bar, the surf on which often makes landing difficult, and there is a backwater which might easily be mistaken for the mouth of a river.

[2] Bāqir Khān, then Sūbadār of Orissa.

and men. The great boate one the sam maner ventereing was twice caste away and saved; the 3 time was splite in peeces, the marchants all this time being ane eie witnes to thes disasters, and soe, haveinge noe posibilitie of geateing aboard againe in this place, determined to travell overland to another place, which by report was lesse dainger in atemteinge this bisnes aforesaide. Att the very instante of theyr suposed departur, the shallop and her crew, one of my mates being in her, with the merchants condisent, concluded onc againe to make triall of this daingerous exploite, haveing then bine ashor full 12 dayes, most of this time hourly waighting a slack to geat aboard, and all this time our shippe riding in a very bad rode with much foul weather, and noe posibility of sendeing any newes [con]serning any bisnes pased ashore. For which cause they [ ] put this pretence in practice; the which with much truble it [was] the pleasuer of God to send our shalop safe aboard, which sertified us of our merchant[s] further intentions; whereupon wee presently weyed and sett saile, beinge the 15 of August. The 18 dicto wee ankered in the rode of Manegapatan [1], being near abought 20 leauges to the eastward of Calepar and the plac where wee were consinde to by our marchantes that wee left there behind us. Rideing in th[is] roade wee had extrem bad weather and another very daingerous bar; yet our mer[chants] comminge thether found such an oper[tunity] as to send on of the cuntry boates abord, the which did sertifie that th[ey] had setled there resolution to perform there determined [business?] in that place and to goe noe farther to leuard; for we wear ord[ered] by the Agent and Counsell to goe to Pepole [2] (being 60 leauges [to] leuard of this port), but now they, findeing the trublesumenes of the time and dainger of the pasage, setled there determination on this maner as to fite themselves with such nesesaries as might convenenly be had in that place without any further prejudic or dainger, ither to ship or men, being a very bad time of the yeare for the performanc of such a voyag, and besides by spending of to much time be an accation of the hindereing of our ginerall voyag. Here againe upon

[1] Mānikpatam, near the mouth of the Chilkā Lake, twenty miles west of Purī. It was once a place of some importance, and figures on Baffin's map of India (1619) as 'Manicapatam'.

[2] Pipplī, in Balasor district, Bengal.

the first opertunity wee sent [our] shalop ashor, which onc came well of againe ; the second time [she] was cast away uppon the bar and lost 4 men, but by [the help of the ?] blackes shee was saved and brought ashor. Besides on [this bar?] was lost and split to peeces 3 or 4 of the contry boates abought the sam time, with some other disasterous accidentes that hapened unto us in this place, the which att this time is needles for me to truble you withall ; but (praised bee to God) noe other damag then which I hav breifly relatted unto you. This trublsom weather and daingerous bars is cauesed by the westerly monthsone ; but (as the contry people reports) in the east[erly] mon[thsone] ther is very fair weather and smoth water, as wee partly found by experienc. All thinges being accomplished as time and plac could permit, the merchantes with the rest of our men and boate cam safly abord. The 6 of October wee sett saile, bound for Mesl[apatam], haveing then very faire weather and the easte monsone fully bent. The 11 dicto wee ankered in Meslap[at]an Roade.' They sailed again on November 27 ; reached Armagon on December 9 ; quitted that road on the 26th ; and arrived at Bantam on January 26. (2½ *pp. Damaged. Received in London September* 4, 1632.)

CONSULTATION HELD [IN SURAT], JANUARY 4, 1632 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 148).

Ralph Rand having this day arrived with the commodities he has provided in Cambay, the previous decision is rescinded and the *Speedwell* ordered to take in these goods for Sumatra. In the meantime the fleet is to remain at Swally to secure her against the Portuguese. Jeremy Sprott being dead, and Richard Allen dangerously sick, Richard Barnaby is made chief merchant of the *Speedwell* for that employment. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

TWO CONSULTATIONS HELD ABOARD THE *MARY* [IN SWALLY ROAD], JANUARY 20, 1632 (*Ibid.*, pp. 148, 149).

A. Captain Quail desiring to be supplied with a carpenter, an offer has been made to allow him to engage any man who is willing to go ; but he insists on being given one 'of his owne choosing and att [his owne] price'. The Council are not prepared to force any man out of the Company's service, and resolve therefore not to go beyond their previous offer. (*Copy*. ½ *p*.)

B. It is determined that the *Speedwell*, after obtaining her lading on the coast of Sumatra, shall proceed to St. Lawrence to meet the fleet from England. All the ships are to rendezvous 'in Persia', the Agent sending due advices to Jask. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO WILLIAM MINORS, MASTER OF THE *SPEEDWELL* [JANUARY 20, 1632?] (*Ibid.*, p. 149).

To proceed to such ports in Sumatra as Richard Allen [Barnaby?] shall direct, keeping company with the *Intelligence* as long as possible. When a lading has been secured, he is to make for St. Augustine's Bay and join the fleet from England either there or at the Comoro Islands. His stay at the latter place is not to exceed August 20; and while there he is to keep on his guard against an attack by the Portuguese. In the event of the ship being detained on the coast of Sumatra until it is too late to go to St. Lawrence, he should proceed direct to Jask and wait there for news of the fleet's arrival at Gombroon. If, owing to great mortality, it be deemed unsafe to venture upon either of these courses, or if they find it impossible to sell their goods and procure a lading, Minors is to repair to Bantam and place himself under the orders of the Agent there. To treat the merchants with respect and provide them with suitable accommodation and victuals. Should both of them die, Minors and his purser must take over the disposal of the cargo. Confer upon him and his council authority to punish any offender (the merchants excepted); in a case of life and death, however, the accused should be kept a prisoner until he can be handed over to Capt. Slade or to the President and Council. All matters of importance should be decided by a council consisting of Minors, the merchants, the purser, and the chief mate, Minors having a casting vote. No time is to be lost in chasing or pillaging vessels, and he is to keep well away from Portuguese India or Ceylon, for fear of Portuguese attacks. Should he die in the voyage, the chief mate, [Andrew?] Dawson, is to succeed to the post of master.[1] (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

[1] This is followed by a paper of instructions to the merchants employed.

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS TO JOHN BURLEY, MASTER OF THE *INTELLIGENCE* [JANUARY 20, 1632?] (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 152).

To make first for Bantam, keeping company as far as possible with the *Speedwell.* Thence, after delivering his letters, he is to proceed to St. Augustine's Bay to meet the fleet from England. Failing to find it there, he is to leave letters and go on to the Comoros, visiting the islands in turn and leaving letters at each. He is to wait at Johanna till August 20, keeping vigilant guard against the Portuguese; and then, if nothing is heard of the fleet, to make for Jask and await letters from the Agent to inform him whether it is safe to proceed to Gombroon. Should he meet the fleet from England, he is to consider himself as under the orders of the Commander until he rejoins Capt. Slade. The management of the ship is conferred upon him, and also power to punish offenders (with the concurrence of his council), save in cases of life and death. His council is to be composed of all the officers of the vessel, he having a casting vote. The pursuit or attack of any vesse is interdicted, in view of the weakness of the pinnace. In the event of his death his mate is to succeed. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT HOPKINSON AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 23, 1632[1] (*Abstract only, made in London. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 137).

Captain Quail pretended to sail for England, but went into the Red Sea and there robbed. Arriving at Surat, he 'gave out he was the Kings ship; which we obscured, and divulged to be an intelligencer sent from our fleete'.[2] Should the Company's ships visit the Red Sea, they will probably have to make good these depredations, 'and we utterlie discredited.' Urge the Company to 'procure a restraint of all such straggling interlopers'. The *Hopewell* reached Armagon on June 25, and the Company's letters to Surat were duly received from her overland. Money sent to Sumatra in the *Speedwell*, 'without which no trading there.' Indian goods provided for

[1] The original (not extant) was sent in the *Seahorse*, and a copy in the *Blessing*.

[2] 'Marke our peopell, how simple they were to give out this report; for hereby they have indangered the Companie to make satisfaction for all their robberies'.—*Note made in London.*

Bantam before the arrival of the fleet; amongst them 1,000 corge of calicoes, which were not half 'bleaked' [bleached] and could not be finished for want of workmen. Money lost through the recipients having died or run away. 'The countrie in a miserable estate through famyne and mortalitie. Inundacion of waters admirable. A mortalitie unspeakeable. Swally and the places neere adjoyning wholly dispeopled. No carriadge for our goods; 2¾ rup[ees] per small maund betwin Amadavas and Surratt. Our owne marriners imployed at Surratt instead of porters. A great mortalitie in our howse. Wee recalld all our people to Surratt from all our other factories.' Mountney's time being up, he would have returned, but could not be spared. No workmen left, 'insomuch that one half for reaping and making the crop of Cirques [Sarkhej] indico was offred for that labour.' The only indigo they can hope to obtain is that of Agra. The *Intelligence* dispatched to Bantam to advise that the *James* be sent home direct from that port; then the pinnace was to proceed to meet the fleet from England, with directions to make Persia their first port. Advantages of this course, notwithstanding the objections alleged by the Persia factors. Ships to be sent to the Coast of Coromandel, to seek a freight there for Persia. The *Speedwell* has been ordered to return to Surat; she is not fit to be laden home, but will be employed out here. 'We purpose by hir to attempt trade in Syndy. A hopefull trade upon the coast of Bengala; some discourse of the same.' Intend to send the *William* and *Blessing* home together. It is hoped that 1,400 or 1,500 bales of silk will be ready for them in Persia. 'George Willoughbies rex[1] and pranckes (as he calleth them).' Hunter commended. Skibbow sent to Bantam about Willoughby's business. The *James* and *Blessing* did not sail till April 27, and so lost their monsoon for Bantam. 'This countrie beginneth nowe to be repeopled. Great discommendacions of the Magull himself and the wicked Governour of Surratt, who hath by a bribe of 10,000 *li.* procured a longer contynuance of his goverment in Surratt. Your great debt here groweth greater daily; the damage whereof by increasing is more [then] the gaines of the comodityes bought therewith. . . . We have bin constreined to paie Virgee Vora 8,000 *li.*;

[1] 'To play *Rex*' was an old phrase for doing damage (cf. Du Bartas: 'Then plaies he *Rex*: tears, kils, and all consumes').

he is creditor yet 12,000 *li.* If you send not mony in your next ship to paie your debt, you maie shutt up your shopp dores.' Quicksilver sold at Ahmadābād for 4*s.* 8*d.* per lb.; no more to be sent for two years. To pay Vīrjī Vōra they were forced to land 26 chests of money at Surat, sending only 14 to Persia; but the factors there have been instructed to supply their needs from the proceeds of the Surat goods (to the value of 3,500*l.*) sent thither. Ships to be laden for England. Complaints of the coarseness and bad condition of the broadcloth. Two or three pieces wanted of the finest scarlet procurable. Knives missing. 'The Erle of Denbigh was lodged at Surratt in our howse, but had his own table, etc. We intended to accomodate him to the courte with the Companies and private mens horsses, but the wicked Governour would have our horsses himself. We accomodated the E. of Denbigh with servitors out of our ships.' The Governor wished to buy His Lordship's scarlet. A suit of Sir Francis Crane's tapestry was sold but returned. A suit of his unsold; also the tapestry belonging to Alderman Perry and Mr. Andrewes. John Willoughby discommended. Advise that no private individuals be allowed in future to send out tapestry. It is hoped that the debt due to Crane will be recovered, for though the debtor be dead, the son has 'land of inheritance, from which he is not removeable'. 'Thirteen of our people in Surratt named to be dead, besides divers others; all have bin sicke.' Barnaby and Allen sent to Sumatra; also Sherland and Fall to Persia. Will answer by the next ships the letters received by the *Mary*. (1½ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT HOPKINSON AND MESSRS. MOUNTNEY, WYCHE, AND JOYCE AT SURAT TO THE AGENT AND FACTORS IN PERSIA, JANUARY 23, 1632 (*O.C.* 1416).

'The great mortallity fallen amonge us this yeare, to the deprivinge us of so many of our friends, and the little time it is since some of us were able to crawle abroad or putt our hands to business,' must excuse the brevity of this letter. Have been forced to detain three of the chests of rials consigned to Persia, in order to stop the mouths and clamours of the creditors of the Old Stock. Wylde had not arrived in England when this fleet started; and the Company, being ignorant of the extent of the debt, has sent

no means for its extinction. The interest will far exceed the profit of the goods bought with the money, 'besides the hindrances done to all Voyages since, especially the Second and this;' and when the Company fully understand this, Wylde will have little thanks for what he has done. The value of the three chests may be detained out of the consignment of Indian goods now sent, the proceeds of the remainder being returned to Surat in money or silk. Entreat them to apply their utmost diligence in procuring silk against next year, as that and Agra indigo are the only commodities available for relading one of the two ships; 'this country through mortallity being deprived of weavers, washers, dyers, spinsters, packers, husbandmen, and all manner of handicraftsmen, that lynnen is 50 per cent. dearer then usuall, and scarce any to be had.' The pinnace *Intelligence* has been sent to Bantam to warn the *James* to procure her lading there instead of returning to Surat, as after the *William* and *Blessing* are laden there will be no cargo available here for a third vessel; while Bantam on the other hand has received over 20,000*l.* worth of goods in the *James* and *Star*. The *Mary* must also seek her lading at the latter port, for which purpose she will be provided at Surat with a fitting cargo. The *Intelligence* on leaving Bantam is to proceed to Madagascar, etc., to meet the fleet from England with directions to them 'to contynue their resolution in makinge Persia their first port'. Refute the objections urged by the Persia factors against this course. The allegation of extreme heat is not worth answering: all merchants affirm that there are plenty of camels to be had 'in or about Lawre' [Lar]: while, as for the security of the Company's goods, they may surely rely upon 'Gombroone Castle', and it is moreover very unlikely that the Portuguese, who are living higher up the Gulf under the Shāh's protection, will dare to attempt any robbery at a port of his. The advantages to the Company are obvious. The factors, being warned beforehand, may be ready to land the goods from England and lade the silk they have brought down, and thus the Surat authorities will be able to dispatch the ships to England more seasonably. Even if no silk be laden the first year, the ships, having discharged their English goods, will be able to take a larger quantity of freight goods than would otherwise be the case. Urge the factors to do their best to dispeed the fleet with

or without silk. The buying of extraordinary quantities of grain for Surat may be a little restricted, 'in regard the number of banyaries [Hind. *banjārā*, a cattle dealer] and boates by sea have abated the prices of most, wheate beinge now at 6¼ and 6½ m[ahmūdī]s per maun, and rice at the like'. Would be glad, however, to receive all the good butter that can be procured, the price here being at present 25 and 30 mahmūdīs per maund, and no hope of its being cheaper before the rains. 'All our factors being retired hither for want of busines and savinge of charges, wee have spared you two able men . . . to witt, Mr. Sherland and Mr. Fall, whose helpe (with a little direccion of our owne) hath gone through all the busines of the Companies in time when wee were all bed-rid.' Sherland is to be third, and Fall fourth, if Gibson is living; otherwise they are to be second and third respectively. Their salaries are 50*l.* and 40*l.*, of which they have already received their thirds, 'both for the six months comynge out and for the yeare currentt till October next, when wee ballance our bookes and a new stock arrives and begins its accompt.' Transmit (unopened) a letter received from the Company; desire a copy. Commend to their endeavours 'Mr. Rastells projection of gettinge silke of the Kinge to be paid in money and goods att port'. Request them to dispeed the accompanying letters to England overland. Have not yet had time to examine the Persia accounts for last year, but expect a more perfect set by the return of these ships. 'The names of those whome Almighty God hath called to his mercie from amongst us this yeare are as follows, vizt. Mr. Thomas Rastell, late Presidentt, Richard Barbour, James Bickford, Arthur Suffeild, Thomas Smith, Robert Davison, William Clarke, Nicholas Woolley, with Edward Sherburne and John Downe of this yeares fleete, and diverse others inferiours taken ashoare for convoyes, etc., now taken into Abrahams bosome, unto which place God prepare us who remaine, for the best amonge us can neither recover strength nor cullour, and God knoweth who shall be next.' Desire them to send aboard the ships all superfluous men; and to furnish Surat with wine, rosewater, and fruit of all kinds 'for our houses uses and enterteynement of friends'. 'Lett us also have some discourse of the warrs twixt the Turke and Shaw.' 'This base Kinge contynueth ungratfully his warrs on Decan and prosecuteth them most wilfully,

tho the famine and their good successe hath hitherto made him much the looser. Now lately he hath sent Asaph Caun upon them (against his will) with 40 or 50,000 horse [1]; which will be to little purpose. The Shawe his embassadour [2] is dispeeded from Brampore, where the Kinge is; and (as is reported) the Governor of Agra beares him company as embassadour back againe.' The *Mary* goes to Bantam, the *Speedwell* to Sumatra, and the *Exchange* to Masulipatam to take in freight goods. They will then come to Jask, possibly one after the other; letters should therefore be left at that port, advising them whether the fleet from England has arrived at Gombroon. (*Copy. 5 pp. Received in London April* 9, 1633, *by the* Blessing.)

President Hopkinson and Council at Surat to the Commanders of the Fleet from England, January 24, 1632 (*O.C.* 1417).

This pinnace *Intelligence* is sent to meet them at the [Comoro] Islands. Enclose a copy of a letter which was written last year [*see* p. 156] to the fleet then expected, but failed to reach Armagon before Captain Wills's departure. From this they will learn the reasons for accomplishing the Company's well-grounded orders 'in making Persia your first port, which upon good consideracion we still confirme, yea, though Mr. Heynes discouraginge letters overland should have altered the Companies determinacion'. Suppose that the Company have directed the fleet to be at the Islands by the beginning of June; have therefore instructed the *Speedwell* (which is to proceed thither from the West Coast of Sumatra) to stay no longer for them than August 20. Similarly, they need not wait for her longer than that period, 'but rather be gone sooner, leaving letters at every iland where you shall touch, signifyinge the tyme of your departure.' Jask has been named as the general place of rendezvous. The fleet should wait there a few days, and

[1] The Dutch wrote from Surat in August, 1632 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 307) that Āsaf Khān had been in disgrace over the Deccan war, but had succeeded in regaining the Emperor's favour.

[2] Muhammad Alī Beg, who had been a great favourite with the late Shāh (see Tavernier's *Voyages*, ed. 1676, vol. i. p. 99). According to the Agent's letter from Persia, Oct. 6, 1630 (*O.C.* 1317), he was 'by an honourable neglect sent leager embassador for India.'

then leave letters for any ships that may come after. The pinnace brings a quantity of 'bartringe ware', viz. half a maund of opium, 400 beads, four corge of 'allejaes' [*see the previous volume*, p. 337], and six corge of 'lunghees' [Hind. *lungi*, a waist-cloth]. The *Speedwell* has another hundred beads. Request that both she and the pinnace may be supplied with whatever they require. 'Wee further also entreate you, in regard of the great famine and dearth that hath raged heere these many months, that you open one of your chests [of] royalls and buy what mellio [*see* p. 178], cuscus [1], paddy, gravances, and other graine is to be had at those ilands for money. Lastly wee have thought good to advertize you of a greate fleete of frigatts this yeare sent by the Portugalls for recovery of Mumbasse [Mombasa], which the Cofeirs [Kaffirs] have taken from them with a generall masacre of all their people,[2] so that it behooves you to be watchfull and vigilant, supposing they may be about those ilands, watching treacherously to doe you a mischeife. The like care wee doubt not but you will have at your comynge on the coast of Persia and India.' (*Copy.* 1½ *pp. Received in London June* 20, 1634, *by Capt. Quail's ship.*)

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN SLADE'S FLEET FROM SURAT TO PERSIA AND BACK (*Marine Records*, vol. lv. p. 47).[3]

1632, *January* 24. The fleet, consisting of the *Mary*, *Exchange*, *Blessing*, and *William*, sailed for Persia; also the *Speedwell* for the west coast of Sumatra, the *Intelligence* for Bantam, 'and Captayn Quayll (as hee reported) for England.' *January* 26. These three ships parted from the rest. *February* 25. Met four Dutch ships, two of them bound for Holland, and the others accompanying to see them clear of the coast. *February* 26. Anchored off Gombroon, where they found the Dutch admiral and a pinnace, 'thaye haveinge sent

[1] The uses of the *khaskhas* grass are various. An infusion of the roots is valued as a febrifuge; the dried roots are employed for window screens; and the young grass is occasionally utilized as fodder for cattle.

[2] See Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. iii. p. 388.

[3] By George Marriot, master's mate of the *William*.

Two other journals, kept on board the *Blessing*, will be found in vols. lvi and lviii of the same series; also accounts of the homeward voyage of that vessel. She reached Mauritius on July 1; left again three months later; and after touching at the Cape and St. Helena (where hey saw a French vessel from Mauritius) arrived at Erith on April 30, 1633.

too shippes to Suratt with provisiones'. *March* 19. The *William* and *Blessing* sailed, leaving the other two ships waiting for some Persian passengers. *April* 5. Saw the coast of India. *April* 8. Anchored in Swally Hole, where six Hollanders were lying. *April* 12. The *Mary* and *Exchange* arrived. *April* 18. The Dutch fleet sailed for Batavia. *April* 25. The *William* came out of Swally Hole, bound for Bantam. *April* 26. The *Blessing* (for England) did the same. *April* 28. The *Mary* and *Exchange* sailed for Masulipatam. *April* 30. The *William* and *Blessing* departed. (*8 pp. The rest of the journal deals with the voyage of the* William *to Bantam, thence to Jambi and back, and so to England, which was reached in August*, 1633).

CAPTAINS SLADE AND WILLS, ABOARD THE *MARY* AT SEA, TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 25, 1632 (*O.C.* 1418).[1]

Wrote last on December 9, entrusting their letter to 'Master Willabrand,'[2] cape merchant of the two Dutch ships which were to go home from Persia. Have been waiting all this time for the caravans from Ahmadābād and Cambay. The former, which brought also Baroda and Broach goods (in all nearly 200 bales of cloth, most of which was for Persia), arrived about the beginning of this month. Messrs. Mountney, Wyche, Joyce, and Rand came from their several stations at Ahmadābād, Baroda, Broach, and Cambay; and a general consultation was held of all the merchants in Surat, at which Hopkinson was chosen President. The Cambay caravan did not reach Surat till January 20. It brought nearly 200 bales of cloth, mostly for Persia and the southwards. The merchants had decided that the ships should not stay for these goods; but they afterwards changed their minds, for reasons not known to the writers. No previous fleet has started for Persia so late, and a corresponding delay will be caused in their return from thence and their dispatch to other ports. It is understood that the *William* and *Blessing* are to go back again with the rest to Surat and complete their lading; neither is yet half full. The pinnace *Intelligence*, of about 25 tons, was intended to be

[1] For an abstract (from another copy) see *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 144.

[2] Wollebrant Gelijnszoon (see the previous volume, p. 191).

dispatched to England with letters, but the President and Council have now determined to send her to Bantam, 'St. Lawrence' [Madagascar], and the [Comoro] Islands with advices for the next fleet, ordering them to make Persia their first port. The writers heartily wish that they had obeyed the similar orders given to them by the Company and disregarded the injunctions to the contrary received from Surat. The *Speedwell* goes to the west coast of Sumatra to procure pepper, Messrs. Barnaby and Allen being the merchants on board; and thence she is to proceed to meet the fleet from England. 'Wee have not any certaine report where the Portugale forces are this yeare; only there is a flyinge newes that they are gon with their greatest force for Seylon, to make it good against the inhabitants, which are up in armes against them there and hath taken all the chieffe places of the iland, Columba only excepted [*see* p. 130]. Wee heare alsoe that the Portugalls are distressed upon the coast of Malinda and Munsonbeecke [Mozambique], espetially in Mombasse, for whose relieffe the Viceroye of Gooa have sent some 20 sayle of frigotts: that Rufrero hath 30 sayle of frigotts in the Gulfe of Persia: and that there is 30 sayle more that lyes betweene Demane and Due. But for certen wee heare that they have not had any shippinge out of Portugale this yeare; that they have had alsoe great mortallity in all these parts, as well as these countrey people.' On their return from Gombroon, the *Mary* is to go to the Coast of Coromandel, to take in freight goods for Persia, and the *Exchange* to Bantam, carrying the goods here provided for that place; thence she is to proceed to Jask to meet the other ships before going into Gombroon. Enclose copies of previous letters. *PS.*—'The Right Honourable my lord of Denbitch[1] tooke his jorney towards the Magulls courte the 23th December last, beinge ill accomodated for such a jorney, and the worse by the base useage and disrespect of this Governor, whoe would not suffer him to have not one horse to ride on, but was inforced, both him and his followers, to travell in coatches such as this countrey affords.' The ships' provisions have proved very good, except some sixty butts of beer, which stank so badly that they had to be thrown overboard. (2½ *pp. Received in London June* 20, 1634, *from Captain Quail's ship.*)

[1] This spelling is interesting as reflecting the Welsh guttural.

Captains Slade and Wills, with the Officers and Merchants of their Fleet, aboard the *Mary*, to the Commanders of the Fleet from England, January 26, 1632 (*O.C.* 1419).[1]

Were ordered by the Company to make Gombroon their first port; but at St. Augustine's Bay they received letters from Surat and Persia of a contradictory nature, and on August 13 the *William* joined them with a second advice from Surat, directing them to come straight for India. It appears now that after the departure of that ship from Surat a letter arrived from the Agent in Persia stating that he would be able after all to get down the silk and have men ready to unlade the fleet if it came direct to Gombroon. President Rastell thereupon did his best to countermand the former instructions by sending letters overland to Armagon, but these did not reach their destination till after the departure of the *William*. The breach of the Company's instructions has been much to their prejudice, in regard that their Europe goods have been kept so long from port, which must delay the consequent investment in silk. Understand that the President and Council have given express orders to the new fleet to go straight for Persia, and have also directed the scattered ships now in the East to rendezvous at Jask. Beg them, if they arrive first, to leave letters with the Captain of Jask Castle, saying whether they have gone on to Gombroon. The writers will do the like if they should get there first. In this manner they may the better guard against the practices of 'our comon enemy the Portugall', who (though at present absorbed in the wars in Ceylon and East Africa) 'sleepes not, but onelie intends his owne advantage'. Entreat them to be on their guard and to keep their ships and ordnance 'predie' [*see* p. 120]. Owing to the famine which has raged in India these two years, they bought rice and grain at the Comoros for their ships' use; and it was well they did so, as on arrival at Surat they found that no grain could be got under nine or ten mahmūdīs the maund. It is still worth six or seven, and no quantity to be had. Advise their correspondents to buy all they can get, both for the ships in general and also for sale in India. Prices paid by them

[1] Abstracted at p. 144 of *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i.

for rice, 'gravances,' 'melia,' and paddy. *Signed by Slade, Wills, Roberts, Minors, Pashley, Andrews, Burley, Barnaby, Sherland, and Fall.* (*Copy.* 2 *pp. Received in London June* 20, 1634.)

William Hoare and Council at Bantam to the Company, January 30, 1632 (*O.C.* 1420).

. . . . Willoughby, before quitting the Coast of Coromandel, turned over all the remains of the Joint Stock unto the Second General Voyage, amounting to 6,411½ rials, for which the President and Council at Surat will pass bills of exchange. . . . . . Hope that Surat will send some rials with their goods, to arrive by the end of May, and therewith the *Mary* or another great ship to return to England from Bantam. . . . . . . The *Hopewell* arrived on the 27th of this month from the Coast with 219 bales of goods, value 24,366 rials, for the Third General Voyage, besides 50 bales, value 6,350 rials 40*d.*, for the Second. The accounts had been sent to Surat. On her came Messrs. Reeve, Bix, Robinson, and Blose. Richard Hudson was left at the Coast, and Edward Prescott had died at Masulipatam the preceding August. Refer to the enclosed copies of letters for 'the miserable afflictions of those parts by warr, pestilence, and famine'. Barber, Bickford, and Suffield are dead, and the rest of the Council have been dangerously sick. . . . . At the urgent request of the Danish General, the Agent and factors on the Coast permitted two Danes (one the captain of their fort and the other one of their merchants) to take passage on the *Hopewell*. Have now agreed to allow them to proceed to England. . . . . . (1 *p. The rest of the letter relates to non-Indian affairs.*[1] *Received September* 4, 1632).

John Reeve [Merchant of the *Hopewell*] at Bantam to the Company, January 31, 1632 (*O.C.* 1421).

Wrote from the Cape on March 15, 1631. Departed the same day, and reached St. Augustine's Bay on April 1. Having there

[1] Enclosed is a list of persons employed at Bantam and subordinate factories (*O.C.* 1426). On this has been noted (apparently in London) those at Armagon, viz. John Norris (principal), Ralph Cartwright, and Henry Sill ('taken for Surat'); also those sent in the *Hopewell* (John Reeve, to return in the ship; Emanuel Altham, for Armagon; Richard Hudson and Edward Prescott, to be left at the Coast, but the latter now dead) and in the *William* (Thomas Robinson, removed to Macassar); further, those sent to the southwards in the *Star* (Willoughby and the rest).

obtained wood, water, and provisions, they left on the 15th for Johanna, where they arrived on the 26th. Sailed again on May 3, and got to Armagon on June 25. There they found John Norris established as Agent by the President's commission, together with Cartwright (second), Robinson, and Bix. To them, on their demand, they yielded up the disposal of the ship and its cargo. Having landed part of their goods, on July 3 they sailed for Masulipatam, leaving Bix and Altham to manage their affairs at Armagon. 'The 10 dicto we arived in Meslapatan. We held a consultation for the disposinge of our shipp and cargason the 13th dicto, wheare we determined that the shipp should departe for the Bay of Bangalla, beinge a voiage formerly determined by the President. The 29 dicto she departed from Meslapatan with seaven hundreth pownds cargazone, Mr. Thomas Robinson merchante for that voiage, the relation whearof I refer unto a generall letter sent unto the Presedente. Mr. Norris, Agent, with Mr. Ralph Cartwritt and Edward Prescott was to stay at Meslapatan; myselfe with Richard Hudson for Pettipolle. The second [*sic*] of October the *Hoopwell* retorned from Bangalla with the losse of tenne men, three masters matts, the gonner and pursers matt, with fyve others. The 28th November our shipp arrived at Pettepolle with 71 balles Meslapatan goods; and the sixt December shee departed from Pettipolle, receivinge from thence 75 balles. The tenth dicto we arived at Armagon, wheare we found our bussines theare very backeward, by reason of the greate quantity of raines, as also the wares betwene the Kinge of Jentu [i.e. the Chandragiri Rājā] and his Naiques. The munson growinge to an ende, we weare inforsed to take what cloth was imballed, and the 26 dicto we departed the roode of Armagon for Bantam, wheare we arived the 26 January in health and saffetty.' An answer received from Surat, in which the President confirmed the authority of the Agent, 'geivinge him power to disposse of all shipps and marchandize which shall arive thear.' Edward Prescott died at Masulipatam on August 29. 'The great mortality of poore people in Meslapatan and other townes adjacent, ocasioned by the greate dearth of rice and other graine, was the cause of our longer stay by 60 dayes uppon the Cost, for the major part of boeth weavors and washers are dead, the cuntry beinge allmost ruinated; but

great hoopes of a plentifull harvest this yeare. In the kingdom of Jentu, those parts adjoyninge to Armagon are at presante soe afflicted with wares betwene the Kinge and his Naiques that, unlesse it ceace very speedily, it will indanger the ruinatinge of the wholle cuntry, with greate damage to Your Worshipps affaires theare. As for the forte of Armagon, it is of soe meane strenght that those resident in it doeth feare dayly to be oppreste by the Kings and other souldiers which raingeth over those parts. The Agent hath provided a presant for he that shall remaine conquerer, either Kinge or Naiques. In the intrum they stand as newters to boeth, intendinge at delivery of those presants to procure lysance for the buildinge a bricke wall about the howse, which may be efected with small charge; which once beinge accomplished, they neede nott feare the power of the wholle kingdom; which at presante they indanger the loose of Your Worshipps estatts theare, with theire owne lyves. It is greate hoopes that Armagon will in a shorte tyme be able to furnish the southerne factorys with paintings and whitte cloth of all sorts which is required, haveing made proffe of bettelles (30 covetts) and longe cloth, which we find well made; the merchants of Armagon having providid 20 balles, but by reason of the trobles durst nott send for them from the places wheare they weare made, fearinge it should be taken from them by the souldiers aforsaid.' At Armagon they disposed of 80 pigs of lead at 25 Armagon pagodas per candy; and part of the rest was sold at Masulipatam for 15 Masulipatam pagodas per candy. None of the quicksilver or vermilion yet sold; the former is worth 14, and the latter 13, pagodas per maund. Most of the broadcloth is still on hand, 'beinge to corse for the Cost, and the cullers nott proper, for they desire very fine stamills [scarlets]; and the finner the more proffitte.' No Dutch ships reached the Coast from Batavia this year, and the Agent was therefore unwilling to sell the goods under value, as he hoped that after the departure of their vessel he would be able to dispose of the remains at a good rate in Masulipatam. Their cargo from the Coast consisted of 71 bales of Masulipatam and 75 bales of Petāpoli goods; 50 bales of Armagon goods on account of the Second General Voyage, and 73 for their own Voyage; total 269 bales, costing 23,027 Armagon pagodas. The *Hopewell* is now to

proceed to Macassar, where she is to procure cloves. On her return she will fill up with pepper, and (it is hoped) be dispatched to England with the *Star* and *Speedwell*. (*3 pp. Seal. Received by the* London, *September* 4, 1632.)

CONSULTATION HELD [AT SWALLY], FEBRUARY 5, 1632 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 156).

'This Councell having enordred the sending up of 5 chests, containing 20,000 rials, to Raneale [Rānder] in the night season, and duly weighing the trouble in changing it into rupes and passing the customehouse, if sent to Suratt, as also the proffitt which would accrew to the Company by the contrary, vizt. by the custome, which would amount to 400 rials of eight, and quicker dispatch of their caphila now intended for Amadavaz, gave order that it should be privately conveied to Surge Nacks [Sūrjī Nāik's] house at Bereo [Variao] in the night time, and so likewise laden upon carts for Amadavaz under conduccion of Leiutennant Osmond Smith, and 14 or 15 English appointed for its securitie; whether God sending it in safetye, it is to be remitted thence by exchange for Agra for the setting forward of their investment there.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD [IN SURAT], FEBRUARY 9, 1632 (*Ibid.*, p. 154).

John Hunter is examined regarding his proceedings at Armagon. etc. He protests his innocence in the matter of the diamonds, which he believes were embezzled by Cartwright. Denies also that he was privy to the seizure of Sill by Willoughby, though he admits that he concurred in the deportation of the former. Declares that he did not countenance Willoughby in these proceedings, and that he had no hand in intercepting letters from Surat or the Coast. Justifies his assent to the taking of a separate house. His reasons for agreeing to Sill's removal were (1) the latter's countenance of Vesterman's private trade; (2) his forestalling the market by sending eight or ten thousand pagodas to Vīravāsaram; (3) his suffocating a servant by water poured on his head after the fashion of Amboyna, which offence (had he remained) would have cost him or the Company nearly 10,000 pagodas, whereas, he being removed, the native officials were satisfied with a gift of about 100*l.* Asked whether Osmond Smith was corrupted into allowing the fort to be

taken, he declares that Smith was unaware of the intention and had too weak a force to make resistance. Lastly, he avers that he acted entirely under Willoughby's influence and concurred in his measures only to avoid his own deportation, which Willoughby had often threatened. Having considered these statements, the Council decides to proceed no further against Hunter, but to leave him to the Company in England. In the meantime his money and papers are to be restored to him and he is to be continued in the service. Osmond Smith, late lieutenant of the fort at Armagon, is interrogated why he gave way to its surprising, 'the facillitie whereof, if once knowne to the Portugalls, would incite them to the like attempt.' He replies that on Willoughby's landing he 'was in a redines with his souldiers for their freindly recepcion and enterteinment, and forbidding all hostile resistance voluntarily yeilded himselfe into their hands'. There being no other objection against him, and in consideration of his civil deportment and the pains he has taken in conducting caravans, it is concluded to retain him in the Company's service. Messrs. Wyche and Joyce having been called down from their several factories to assist in re-establishing the Company's affairs, are now directed to return and complete their business. John Robinson, who (in view of their need of factors) has been entertained out of Captain Quail's ship, is allowed a salary of 20*l.* per annum here, referring him for further gratification to the Company on his return, provided he serves them three years in the country. (*Copy. 2 pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD [IN SURAT], FEBRUARY 10, 1632 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 156).

The great quantities of quicksilver brought last year and this, not only on the Company's account but also by individuals, have cloyed all the markets, so that it is not worth above 3 or $3\frac{1}{4}$ mahmūdīs per seer. It is therefore decided to send to Agra (where it is worth 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per seer) sufficient to provide funds for the indigo investment in that place, thus obviating the need of borrowing money at interest there. John Leachland to be re-admitted to the service, and placed in charge of this caravan. Entertainment of John Robinson. (*Copy. $\frac{1}{2}$ p.*)

Edward Heynes, William Gibson, and Richard Cooper in Persia to the Company, February 15, 1632 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 140).

. . . The Dutch have landed 300,000*l.* [*sic*] in money and goods, although the King owes them 11,000 or 12,000 tūmāns. They arrived here with eight tall ships and five companies of land soldiers, 'upon some project of Muscat, Diu, or Zeilon; but the mortality in their ships prevented their projects, for the most part of the souljers are dead. The Dutch have attempted trade in Syndy,[1] where they say they will settle and give over Surratt'. . . . Damage done by Capt. Quail. The Dutch report that his commission from the King 'is vearie large and powerfull'. 'The Lorde Feilding is travelling to the Magulls court.' Corn provided and sent down for transport to India, at a total cost of 1,400 tūmāns. The customs at Gombroon this year are expected to yield (for the English share) not above 400 tūmāns; and the receipts for freight are estimated at 100 tūmāns. 'The Duke of Xiras mooved us to joyne our fleete with his forces for Muskatt, aledging Mr. Burtes promises. Upon our aunswer, he prest us for our promise against the next yere.' Request definite instructions on this matter, 'for it is important and dangerous.' 'The King is the maine piller of our trade in Persia, of whome and his eldest sonne we are much

[1] Philip Lukaszoon (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 318) says that in 1631 the ship *Brouwershaven* was sent to a place 'called Tata by the inhabitants, but named Sindee in the charts'. In spite of the miserable state of the district, owing to the famine, her cargo was sold at good prices, realizing a profit of 14,000 gulden. Samples of piece-goods, cotton yarn, saltpetre, and an inferior sort of indigo were brought back, but the prices were found to be far higher than those usually paid, though this might have been due to the inexperience of the Dutch merchants, the prevailing scarcity, and the machinations of the Portuguese, as there is a considerable trade in such articles from that place to Persia, Arabia, the east coast of Africa, etc. There were many Portuguese residing there, who were much annoyed by the arrival of the ship, and threatened the Governor that they would depart if the Dutch were permitted to trade, and that Ruy Freire would bring his fleet to attack the town. This made no impression, however, and though the ship remained there about two months, no Portuguese vessel was seen, except two or three merchantmen. The Portuguese attached considerable importance to the place, and kept there an agent to collect dues [for passports] on outgoing and incoming vessels.

In a letter from the Viceroy to King Philip, dated April 2, 1632 (N.S.), it is stated that a Dutch ship had gone to 'Sinde', with (it was rumoured) farmāns from the Great Mogul authorizing the establishment of trade there (*Lisbon Transcripts : Doc. Remet.*, book 29, f. 245).

favored; who for our cause hath removed the corrupt Customer and placed another to give us our due. We are the rather affected for transporting of strangers goods hither and from hence in our ships; whereas the Dutch, comyng this [year] without anie fraight goods, are threatned to paie custome for their owne goods, whereunto we shall yeld our best furtherance. The Dutch have offred their service against Muscatt, so we might not be joyned in the action; but are refused untill we give our absolute aunswer. Ruy Freery, reigning [ranging] with three gallions and 20 frigotts in the Gulph, presented the Duke with 600 tomans and required the restitution of Ormus; or if not that, then the free custom of all goods that the Portu[galls] should land in all places or ports there, and free trade without molestacion of the English or Dutch; all was denied them. The originall contract made betwin the Choun and Capt. Weddell in takeing of Ormus was sent into England,[1] which originall we shall lacke heere; wherefore you may please to send it.' This letter is entrusted to the Dutch ships, *s'Gravenhage* and *Der Veer*. (1¼ *pp.*)

Directions from the President and Council at Surat to John Hunter, February 18, 1632 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 157).

He is already aware of the distracted state of the Company's affairs at Cambay, famine and mortality having deprived them of many of their workmen and also of divers merchants to whom they had advanced money for goods for Bantam, Sumatra, and Persia. Many of the latter have fled to 'places of more plentie', others are dead with their whole kindred, and others again are impoverished in their estates. To add one misery to another, Ralph Rand, the factor there, is dead, while the broker, 'Chowte' [Chhotā], has come down to Surat without permission to be present at the death of his brother 'Gourdas' [Gurdās], leaving nearly 100,000 mahmūdīs there, partly in goods received into the house 'uncured' [i.e. unbleached], partly in cash, and the rest in the hands of merchants. Hunter is therefore to proceed thither, in company with the broker, to put matters straight. As regards the debtors, he is by fair or harsh means to recover either the money (with interest) or goods of some

[1] See a note on p. 13 of the volume for 1622–23.

kind or other. If possible, the money should be obtained, rather than goods which must lie by them till next year for want of workmen to make them merchantable. Any goods in hand or subsequently received should be prepared to be sent down with those from Ahmadābād. To fetch the latter a convoy will be dispatched in a few days, with orders to be back before the end of March, as otherwise the ships must leave without the goods. Any surplus cash should be remitted by exchange to the Company's shroff at Ahmadābād, 'Cullian Parrecke' [Kalyān Pārak], who has been ordered to remit that and a larger sum to Agra for the purchase of 1,000 fardles of indigo. 'The accounts of this factorie being kept in mamothes and those of Cambaiett in rupes, correspond togeather at ma[hmūdīs] 2½ for 1 rup[ee]; so that our booke rate of a ma[hmūdī] being 32 pice produceth 80 for the rupee.' For his encouragement, and in view of his fair and reasonable answers to their objections, they have restored him to his pristine respect and repute in the Company's service, and have returned him his moneys and papers seized in Armagon. *PS.*—Enclose a letter 'in Banian' to the broker 'Chowt'. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

Directions from the President and Council at Surat to Messrs. Wyche and Joyce, proceeding to Broach and Baroda, February 18, 1632 (*Ibid.*, p. 158).

Entreat them to have the goods at their respective factories ready to accompany the convoy on its return from Ahmadābād, and themselves to repair hither earlier if possible, to take up the duties assigned to them. Broadcloth delivered to Wyche for presentation to the Governor at Broach. Are informed that wheat may be had at that place for 4½ mahmūdīs or 2 rupees the maund of 40 seer, while at Surat it continues at double that price, owing to the Governor and one or two moneyed merchants engrossing the supply. As biscuit is needed for the fleet, they beg that 1,000 maunds of wheat may be purchased and sent down, 'to keepe our bakers in accion.' Such presents as they desire shall be forwarded for the Governor and Customer, to facilitate the passing of the goods through the customhouse. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Captain Slade [at Gombroon] to the Company, February 25 [? 26], 1632 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 144).

Their passage from Surat has taken a whole month. They met the Dutch, by whom they sent a letter. 'Mr. Hall [Fuller *is meant*], your minister,' left Persia on one of the Dutch ships. ($\frac{1}{8}$ *p.*)

Edward Heynes, William Gibson, and Richard Cooper at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, February 26, 1632 (*O.C.* 1423).[1]

The Surat letter overland, dated June 10, 1631, came to their hands in Gombroon on January 24; but they had previously received in Shirāz on December 26 the copy which was sent in the pinnace. Now answer as follows. Perceive that the sale of Indian goods at Gombroon last year produced a satisfactory profit, 'and therby hath drawne you to a resolucion to be constant yearelie in suplie of the like goods to this place.' Enclose a list of the most suitable commodities. Think 20,000*l.* sterling in all sorts of goods would be a reasonable proportion. If assured of a regular trade, merchants will come down in abundance and thus 'improve this portt and trade to bee as famous as ever Ormoose was'; but if the ships fail to come one year the traders will be disheartened. 'Wee knowe itt to bee a principall aime of the Company to purchase sylks at portt with the produce of India goods' and ready money, this being more profitable than investments in India itself for England. The Dutch, although the King owes them 12,000 tūmāns and has not this year delivered them one bale of silk towards satisfaction, have landed 150,000*l.* in ready money and to the same value in goods. Their plans for the future. Scarcity of silk. Urge a steady supply of goods and money. Explain their former computation of the amount of money required. Impossibility of obtaining silk from the Shāh on credit. Request a supply of packing materials of better quality. On their representation of the abuses received last year in their customs, the Khān of Shirāz has removed the Shāhbandar, and appointed another officer (acceptable to them) in his place. He has also issued orders for the reformation of the abuses and the payment of what is due. Have 'soe wedged our-

[1] For an abstract of this letter see *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 142.

selves into the affection of the ould and younge Ducke (his sonn) that wee shall not doubt of the continuance of our customes as longe as either of them lives in goverment of this place'. Have buried six of their number since last year, and much need fresh assistance. Private trade must be reformed from Surat, since the profit gained here is by Indian goods, this country yielding little in the way of returns; still, they will do their best to co-operate in suppressing the evil. The fathering of Moors' and Banyans' goods should be strictly looked after, for this not only defrauds the Company of their share of the customs but also endangers the loss of their rights, 'when wee shall be found to connive with such to deceave the Chon of his dues in this portt.' 'Transportt of merchants too and againe from this portt is the principall bonnd of the customes unto us; when wee faile therin, wee may then doubt the continuance theroff. Base and meane people, that carry little or noe goods, may bee avoyded, as not benificiall neither to the Chon or our Company. The better sort of merchants produceth proffitt to both, and doth add favor and reputacion to our nation amoungest these people. The Dutch arriveinge heere with ther fleete without goods or merchants upon ther shipps displeaseth the Ducke greatelie, and are threatened to pay custome if they doe not annuallie observe him in this service.' Troubles caused by the poor quality of their broadcloth. Excess of tin, which they intend to leave here. For the corn carried on the last fleet for private trade the pursers are responsible. Particulars of that now consigned to Surat in a Dutch ship. Have 80,000 maunds more for shipment on their own fleet when it arrives. About 350 bales of silk ready for England. Allowances for ships' provisions. Losses by death, and sickness of others. Doubt whether the Dutch will direct their ships to Persia regardless of the season. Are certain that it is impossible for the English to attend here in August and September. Thank them for attentions shown to native merchants recommended to them; this adds much credit and reputation to the English. Have provided a quantity of rūnās; also horses, rosewater, wine, pistachios, 'and a fewe dumba [fat-tailed: Pers. *dumba*] sheepe for your piscashes and howse provision.' They will note the anxiety of the Khān of Shirāz to have the assistance of the English fleet in attacking Muskat. He wished to put the project in execution this

year, but as they could not spare the ships he will wait until next year; meanwhile he demands a speedy answer overland whether they will help him. Should this be decided upon, the fleet ought to be here not later than the beginning of December. Cost of the three horses sent last year. The freight of the corn laden in the Dutch ship is to be settled at Surat. Accounts will be sent by the next fleet, except some which cannot be perfected in time; are unable to supply double copies, for want of writers. (*Copy.* 7½ *pp. Received in London September* 25, 1633.)

William Gibson, John Sherland, Richard Cooper, and William Fall at Gombroon to the Company, March 22, 1632 (*O.C.* 1425).[1]

Heynes is dangerously sick and not likely to live. They know not what he has done in answer to the Company's letter brought by the *Mary* and her fleet, which arrived here on February 26. Are doing their best to dispatch them again to Surat, but Heynes's illness is a great hindrance. . . . Refute Wylde's accusations against Burt and other factors of making use of the Company's rials for their private purposes. . . . Their share of the customs is still received, though they have had much trouble over the matter. The Khān has dismissed the Shāhbandar on their complaint and appointed a fresh one. Last year their share came to 553 tūmāns; only a small sum expected this year, owing to few goods having arrived from India. Little or no private trade here. . . . Note 'the leauge and articles made with Spane', but will not be lulled into security, knowing them to be a treacherous nation. Are not yet troubled with Lord Denbigh and his company, neither do they desire it. If he should arrive in these parts they will (as ordered) do their best to help him; but 'if hee shall demaund any assistance of us, twill be to assist his purse and not otherwayes', and this the Company have forbidden them to do. . . . (2¼ *pp. The rest of the letter relates to Persian affairs. Received by the* Blessing, *April* 9, 1633).

[1] An abstract will be found at p. 141 of the *Factory Records*, *Miscellaneous*, vol. i.

Instructions from the President at Surat to Messrs. Leachland and Robinson, proceeding to Burhānpur and Agra, March 23, 1632 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 159).

It has been decided to send up the quicksilver and vermilion landed this year to Agra, where (as the factors advise) the price is 5 and 5½ rupees 'that seare, being of 30 pice, and is rupes 3 the Surratt seare of 18 pice,' as compared with 3 and 3½ mahmūdīs, the present price here. Factors being scarce, they are glad that Leachland, before Rastell's death, proved his merit by convoying goods and treasure to Ahmadābād and has now agreed to take charge of the present caravan. Robinson is to be his assistant and coadjutor; and four English musketeers will go with them to Burhānpur or until they meet the Agra caravan, with which these men are to return to Surat. They are aware of the irregular proceedings of [John] Willoughby, 'as namely the charge he hath putt the Company unto in clearing the caphila brought downe by Crispin Blagden, for want of discreete complieing with Fransisco Nogera, the Kings gunner, about saltpeter; his insencing Raw Ruttan about two rupes in the price of a gold chaine affected by the said Raw; his refusall to abate 800 rupees of the debt of Sir Francis Cranes tapestrie, which if he had done the money had long since bin paid, and as much or more bin saved in his idle expences, but far more gotten in the intrest of the money soe many months since he might have had it; his breaking open of the tarras aloft, where below in a roome the two padres luggage were housed, and his ransacking all was there, to the Company and our nacions great dishonour, the President Rastall while they aboad in Surrat (and all the rest of us) doeing them all the courtesie and respect was in our power; his generall disrespects to all visitants (to the great abasing of our nacions ancient repute in the Kings court), whereof all theis parts ring on; and lastly his most disrespectfull cariage in negotiating the orders given him in Februarie was twelve months,' to procure money or a 'barratt' [*see* p. 90] from 'Raw Ruttun' and then at once to return. Friendly remonstrances from Surat he has answered with 'undecent tearmes'; and he has before now spoken of going home overland. If therefore they find him in Burhānpur 'behind the Agra caphila, which we have enordred him to

accompanie and conduct to Surratt', they are to 'putt him in irons in his private chamber, and after one gree [Hind. *gharī*, about 24 minutes] sett him againe at libertie and send him under guard of four peons on the waie hither, with injuncion to overtake the said caphila, as he will answer it'.[1] Should, however, the caravan be found at or near Burhānpur, they must do their best to dispeed it, 'supposing no duties will further be exacted then the ordinary radares [tolls: Hind. *rāhdārī*] at Bawhampore [Bahādurpur?], etc., against which notwithstanding the perwanna of Asaph Caun and Afsull Caun [*see the* 1622–23 *volume*, p. 31], herewith delivered you, wee hope wilbe available.' If they meet the caravan on this side of Burhānpur, and Willoughby with it, they are to forbear to take any action against him. The four musketeers should be handed over to him, and he should be ordered to endeavour to get his goods down to Surat by April 5 at the latest. The care of the present caravan, which comprises all the quicksilver and vermilion and most of the broadcloth landed this year, is committed to Leachland; in case of his death, Robinson is to take charge. On arrival at Agra, both are to place themselves under the orders of Fremlen. 'While you staie there, in regard of your antiquitie in the Companies service, wee assure ourselves Mr. Fremlin will esteeme you, Mr. Leichland, in matter of place at table next to himselfe, Mr. Mundy, Mr. Yard, and Mr. Robinson descending in order. But if Mr. John Robinson please to remaine in Agra and Mr. Mundy desirous to come awaie, then doe wee confer on him the place of second to William Fremlin.' They are to take advantage of any opportunity that may occur of selling part of their goods at Burhānpur. Jādū the broker is sent to assist herein, and particularly in disposing of two marble stones belonging to Rastell's estate. Any money received should be remitted by exchange to Agra. Willoughby has been directed 'to leave the screete of Raw Ruttun with Cullian Sawe' [Kalyānjī]. If they cannot obtain the money, the 'screete' should be left with 'Jaddo or Cullian', with directions to give a few 'gratificacions' if necessary to recover the debt. It is needless to warn them to be careful and vigilant, as they are well acquainted with the danger of travelling in this country. They have a supply of strong waters

[1] An order to Willoughby to submit to arrest is entered at p. 163 of the same volume.

and swordblades for presentation or for their own use on the road ('racke, as you know, being dearer here then strong waters in England'); what remains should be delivered to Fremlen. The 'faire Persian horse' which accompanies them should be sold, if possible, at Burhānpur; if not, he must be carried to Agra and delivered to Fremlen, valuing him at 400 rupees. In his place they are to take two 'rowalls' [Guj. *rawāl*, a trotting horse] or the money, as he belongs to a private person. Fremlen has been instructed to send next season's caravan down by the middle or end of November at the latest; Leachland and Robinson should do their best to help in this. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD [IN SURAT], APRIL 10, 1632 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 163).

To avoid loss of time it is ordered that the Persians' goods be put ashore at the Marine and left there under a guard, the cost of which is to be recovered from the owners. The goods from Agra having failed to arrive, owing to the King seizing the camels at Burhānpur, it is decided to send home only the *Blessing*. The silk aboard the *William* is therefore to be at once transferred to the other vessel. 'Yett if God shall send downe the goods from Brampore in season, that then the *William* be sent also in her company for England.' (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

PRESIDENT HOPKINSON AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 24, 1632 (*Abstract only. O.C.* 1428 [1]).

'The ordering of Goombroone to be our first port. Baroon [*see* p. 161] thought to be a port for small vessells only.' [2] The *Mary* and *Exchange* to be employed upon freight to Masulipatam and thence to Persia. The *Speedwell* to go to Sumatra. Agra indigo more plentiful than that of Sarkhej; the latter at 22 and 19 rupees. No hope to procure any more calicoes at present; those sent would yield 40 per cent. profit [at Surat]. Gum-lac on sticks scarce, and priced at 15 mahmūdīs per maund; therefore dare not meddle with any. Sugar extremely dear. For Achin pepper 17

[1] There is a second abstract in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. (p. 138). Some extracts from it are given in the following notes.

[2] 'The port Baroon shalbe sownded as oportunitie will afford.'

mahmūdīs is asked. 'An overture made for peace betwin the Portugalls and the English in the Indies, but tooke none effect. It is worthie good consideracion and furtherance, for it would be verie beneficiall: see some perticulers. The Earle of Denbigh his interteinement with the Mogull. He purposeth to go in the *Marie* whither she goeth.' Downes, Sherborne, and Sprott dead. Barnaby and Allen employed for Sumatra. Quail's lieutenant, John Robinson, entertained at 20*l.* a year. Hunter acquitted and employed for Ahmadābād. The freight from Surat to Gombroon was but 1,300*l.* Disposal of the goods and money that came in the *Mary*. 'The Governour of Surratt abuseth us.'[1] Cloth defective. Four chests of coral sold. Gold yielded some profit. 'Rialls disposed; some paid our creditor Virgee Vora.' Lead to be sent to the Coast in the *Mary*; in future, small 'piggs' of $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. apiece should be substituted for large ones. The Governor prevents all others from buying lead, and will give what he pleases for it. Quicksilver sent to Agra. Leachland retained. Of Agra indigo 1,200 fardles have been ordered. Rough amber useless, though amber beads 'of good hope'. Some of the swordblades bad. Presents: swordblades, knives, strong waters. Of coral, 18 chests sold, and 18 remaining. Last year's cloth taken by the Governor in consideration of a bribe of 2,000 rupees, but they were forced to allow him two yards in each cloth.[2] Cloths and perpetuanoes brought by the *James's* fleet unsold. No more perpetuanoes to be sent. Price of amber beads. They were forced to buy the mariners' private trade from Persia at 25 per cent. profit. Private trade must be remedied at home. Crane's tapestry. John Willoughby discommended.[3] 'The King, being in Brampore, hath taken up 800 camells of ours.[4] You must prevent the comyng out of such as Capt. Quaile is; at home you may look to the security he hath given to the King. Capt. Quaile (under the name of Robin

[1] 'In our presentes, and by forcing our skarlett to himself for nothing.' A Dutch letter from Surat of August 8, 1632 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 307), says that a joint protest against the Governor's exactions was proposed to the English, but they refused to agree.

[2] 'Their cloathes fell out 2 yards upon everie peece too short.'

[3] The other abstract inserts: 'Asaph Chaun imployed in the warrs against Decan, of purpose to intrapp him.'

[4] 'Whereby 1,600 bales of our goods . . . . cannot be gotten downe to Surratt, whereas otherwise we should have laden home two ships.'

Goodfellowe) hath robd a Malabar that had our passe for safe conduct; for which we have bin impleaded here and must satisfie it, and have paid 100*l.*[1] in composition.' Their convoys have run through many dangers this year; 34 bales of goods surprised, but most of them rescued.[2] John Germant, their armourer, slain in this fight. Good quantities of stuff for ships' repairs should be sent in every vessel, for the ships of one Voyage will not willingly supply those of another. Wine desired for the factories. Heynes has recovered from his dangerous sickness. The accounts of the First and Second Voyages have been balanced and sent from Persia, but copies cannot be made at present. Forward the Armagon accounts, though they have not been entered in the Surat books nor some expenses allowed. George Quip has written from Achin accusing Wolman of poisoning. The brown dutties are a full yard broad and twelve long; could not get them whited. A hundred bales of cotton yarn and 150 bags of wheat intercepted by the 'Rashbootes' [Rājpūts].[3] (1½ *pp.*)

CAPTAIN SLADE AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 24, 1632 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 144).

Their voyage to Persia lasted a month and two days. The *William* and *Blessing* sailed from Gombroon on March 19. The Agent [Heynes] sick. The *Mary* and *Exchange* left on March 23, and reached Surat April 10, bringing 5,000 bags of grain and 1,600 bales of freight goods. The *Blessing* has been chosen to go home; had not the King detained their goods, two ships might have been dispatched. Tackle supplied to the *William* and *Blessing* by the other vessels, which now in their turn are deficient. Tar costs here six times its value; in future more pitch and tar should be sent

[1] '2,000 mam.'

[2] A later letter (*O.C.* 1543 A) mentions that one caravan was assaulted near Cambay, and another between Broach and Surat. It was in the second of these that the armourer received a wound, of which he died three days later.

[3] 'Walter Mountford and James Watts commended.' From the letter cited in the previous note it appears that this attack was made half-way between Swally and Surat, when a cart containing 63,000 mahmūdīs (the proceeds of private trade in Persia) was carried off, though a seventh part of this amount was recovered later, by the aid of the Governor of Surat. The subject is mentioned in a Dutch letter from Surat (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 307) and in the Court Minutes for Sept. 17 and Oct. 24, 1634.

out. The *Mary* and *Exchange* are ordered to seek a freight at Masulipatam, though the writer is much against this course, thinking the event doubtful and the passage intricate. The *William* goes to Bantam, and will there be sheathed. 'Peopell doe come downe from other places to people theis parts.' Rastell's death lamented. Lord Denbigh has returned from the Mogul's court, and intends to go in the *Mary* to Masulipatam and then to Persia; he sends his respects to Sir Morris Abbot and the rest. (½ *p.*)

JOHN SKIBBOW AND JOHN BANGHAM, ABOARD THE *GREAT JAMES* AT MAURITIUS, TO THE COMPANY, MAY 8, 1632 (*O.C.* 1431).[1]

Refer to previous letters relating the occurrences of 'this our disconsolate voyage'. After leaving Bantam they kept company with the *Palsgrave* until January 7, when she steered away for the Cape, while they made for this island. Arrived in safety on February 4. Have since careened the ship, and found daily good store of refreshing (fish, goats, and cattle), with the result that their sick men are well recovered. On April 19 arrived two Dutch ships [the *s'Gravenhage* and *Der Veer*] from Gombroon, bound for Holland. Thomas Fuller, minister, who came with them, has brought sad news. 'The famine increassing in India was followed with the pestellence, bothe which destroyed infinite nombers of people. At last it pleased God to send raine, butt in soe great aboundance that it drowned and carryed awaie all the corne and other graine, etc., whiche that afflicted people had made hard shifte to sowe, and made such inundations as hathe nott been knowne or heard off in those partes. Soe that by theise meanes the townes and countryes of Guzeratt are almost desolate and depoppulated. Amidst theise heavy afflictions itt pleased God to take awaie divers of your worthy and well deserving servants, amongst whome your President, Mr. Thomas Rastell, with two of his Councell, viz. Mr. James Bickford and Mr. Arthur Suffeild. A list of all wee can heare of wee send you herewithe. From Persia wee heare bad newes alsoe, as that you maie expect noe more then neere 400 bales

[1] A short letter of the same date, and giving the same news, forms *O.C.* 1432. It was written by Richard Barrie, purser of the *James*. See also a letter from Willoughby, Matthew, and Grove, dated May 6 (*O.C.* 1429, 1430). It contains nothing fresh.

of silke from thence this yeare, whiche was ready at the port, Gumbroone, when theise shippes came thence. Divers of your servantes likewise there lately deceassed, and the silke wormes perrished. . . . . Besides theise disasters, another mischeive hathe displayde ittselfe, for wee are given to understand that a smale English shipp, aboute the burthen of 100 tunns, called the [*Seahorse*], hathe been ransacking and pilligeing the traders in the Redd Sea, and by report hath taken great prises. To whome they belong wee cannot learne, butt wee feare that bothe Your Worships estate and servantes in India will paie dearly for itt, besides the utter loss of your Redd Sea trade (whiche stood on faire termes) and the trouble and dammage whiche peradventure the Worshipfull Turkie Company may suffer thereby at Constantinople. The commander of this small shipp is one Captain Richard Quaile of Portsmouth. Report saithe hee hathe the Kings Majesties commission and that itt is the Kings pinnace hee is in. Hee hathe been with this vessell at Surratt, and is returned thence againe to the Redd Sea. Yf hee have pilligd or shall make prise of any the Mogulls subjects, Your Worships estate in India wilbee constrained to make good such damages, as was agreed by the last capitulations and articles made between the Guzeratts and your then President and Councell in September anno 1624.' Doubtless the Company will receive from Surat and Persia more ample intelligence concerning that business. These Dutch ships met the English fleet off Cape Jask on February 27[1]. Daily expect the *William* or *Blessing* (or both) to arrive here bound for England; will then consult as to the best way of sending home the cloves and pepper now in the *James*. Mr. Fuller, being desirous of taking his passage in an English ship, has moved from the *s'Gravenhage* to the *James*, to await a homeward-bound vessel. Unless ships arrive from Persia or advice comes from Surat, they intend to leave this place on June 10 for St. Augustine's Bay and Johanna, to meet the fleet from England and accompany it to Surat. Enclose a list of men deceased in the ship from August 9, 1631, to March 13, 1632. (*3 pp. Received by the* s'Gravenhage, *April* 10, 1633).

[1] Really the 25th (see pp. 198, 224).

Account between Arthur Suffield and Gurdās, 1629–32 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxiv. p. 56).

Sums received and spent on the Company's account by the native broker at Surat. The items include payments on account of customs, the carriage of letters and goods to and from various factories, interest on loans, 50 [mahmūdīs] 'given the poore on the Companies account', etc. The total is 14,656 mahmūdīs, 3 pice, of which 8,153 mahmūdīs, 15 pice remained due to Gurdās. The account is endorsed as taken on May [ ]3, 1632. (1½ *pp*).

John Skibbow and John Bangham, aboard the *Great James* at Mauritius, to the Company, June 12, 1632 (*Abstract only. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i. p. 145).

Wrote on May 8 by the *s'Gravenhage.* Now leave these few lines behind them. Are going to St. Augustine's Bay, hoping there to meet the ships from England or India. Death of Rastell and others at Surat. Good refreshing obtained here: fish, goats, hogs, and cattle. (¼ *p.*)

Father Paulo Reimão[1] at Damān to [the President at Surat], June 12/22, 1632 (*O.C.* 1434).

Presuming that [the President?] has returned with his 'cafila', he hastens to thank him for favours received and to wish him and his colleagues good health. Begs that he will transmit the accompanying letters to Agra. Hears that a small vessel has arrived from Portugal[2] with the following news. The kingdom is in a prosperous state, except for a certain amount of dearth. The conclusion of peace between Spain and England is confirmed, as probably he [the President] has heard from the Viceroy. The Emperor has sent the investiture of the states of Mantua and Montferrat to the Duke Carlos Gonzaga, agreeing with His Holiness in this election. At Madrid the Infante Carlos was preparing to leave in a few days to assume the government of Portugal, and consequently the Council of Portugal has left Madrid. The King has made Don Rodrigo da Sylveira a Count on his marriage with

[1] He was a Dutchman by birth, and was afterwards active in promoting the negotiations between Methwold and the Viceroy.

[2] It was one of two advice-ships that left Lisbon in Nov. 1631.

the daughter of the Conde de Linhares. From Naples comes intelligence of the arrival of English merchants to reopen trade, and that merchant vessels were expected from England. Letters from Antwerp say that at a general muster of the Spanish army there were found 41,000 infantry and 2,500 horse, who were provided with 50,000 crowns in specie and 800,000 in bills. They were expecting the Cardinal Infante of Spain with thirty galleons, bringing 4,000 Spaniards and 300,000 doubloons, accompanied by ten English ships.[1] The peace with England does not include the restitution of the Palatinate, but the King [of Spain] has promised to obtain this from the Emperor and the other Catholic Princes. From Flanders they write that the Dutch were sending a hundred ships against the Infante Fernando, who has ten English ships and thirty Spanish, with the intention of attacking him if occasion arises. Congratulates his correspondent on this intelligence. If the Dutch fail to show respect to the English flag, it will be the worse for them. Advice comes from Constantinople that the Turk has ordered his pashas to maintain peace with the Emperor, in order that he may employ his troops in the war with Persia. This is all the news. Nothing is said about a new Viceroy, as Dom Pedro Manoel, who has been spoken of for the post, is dead. Sends commendations to Mountney, Wyche, and the rest. *P.S.*—The King was much grieved at the death of Nuno Alvares Botelho. He ordered the shutters of the royal palace to be closed, and declared that he would not wear mourning for the Queen of Hungary[2] but he would for this great captain and loyal vassal. He made Botelho's wife Countess of 'Aldeagalega' [Aldeia Gallega, near Lisbon], and his son a Count, and gave the latter [the captaincy of ?] Sofala to sell at once and pay his father's debts. He has also continued to him his commands, and has added four more of 12,000 cruzados for four lives. The King has asked for a portrait of this valorous captain ; and has commanded that these proofs of regard should be made known to all the captains in India, that they may see how he rewards one who has served him so well. (*In Portuguese. 3 pp.*)

[1] This was incorrect.

[2] His sister, the Infanta Maria Anna, who had been married in 1631 to Ferdinand, King of Hungary, afterwards German Emperor.

John Milward at Johanna to President Hopkinson at Surat, July 11, 1632 (*O.C.* 1438).

Relates the outward voyage of the *Pearl*, which sailed from the Downs on December 21. Fell in with the Dutch ship *Hoorn*, bound for Batavia, by whom they sent letters to Bantam. Were forced into St. Helena Bay, about twenty leagues short of Table Bay, and found there letters stating that a Dieppe ship[1] had departed twenty days before. On May 17 they anchored in 'Soldania' [Table] Bay, where the *Hoorn* was riding. Received letters left there by the *London*, which had departed about twelve days before. Sailed on May 22, and reached St. Augustine's Bay on June 21. Procured victuals, wood, and water, being courteously used by 'Andrea Quela' on the south side and by the newcome Governor on the north-east part of the bay. Departed on July 2, and on the 10th arrived at Johanna, where they found Mr. Burley in the *Intelligence*, and heard from him the state of affairs in India. If the President pleases to take more than ordinary notice of the writer, he knows that Captain Milward,[2] his kinsman and the President's special friend, will give him most hearty thanks. (*2 pp. Sent to Surat by the* Intelligence.)

The Commanders and Factors of Captain Weddell's Fleet to the Company, St. Augustine's Bay, August 1, 1632 (*Brit. Mus. Egerton MS.* 2086, *f.* 112).

After leaving the Downs on March 29, they were forced by westerly winds into Weymouth. Sailed again on April 4, and lost sight of the Lizard on the 7th. Passed Grand Canary on the 23rd, and near that island met a 'Salley man of warre', which proved to be manned by Christians (Spaniards, French, and Dutch), who had surprised the Moors in her and were carrying her to the islands to sell. Proceeding on their voyage, the broadcloth on board the ships was all taken out of the holds and aired; most of it proved to be in good condition, though a few bales in the *Hart* were slightly

[1] See the *Dagh-Register*, 1631-34, p. 189, and the Court Minutes of July 5, 1633, for a Dieppe ship that was at the Cape early in 1633. The *William*, which reached England from Bantam in August of that year, brought thirteen Frenchmen whom she had taken in at the Cape (*Court Minutes*, Aug. 21, 1633).

[2] John Milward, one of the 'Committees' of the Company.

damaged. The defects were remedied by the clothdrawer. Suggest that in future a special room should be fitted for stowing cloth, 'paid' with resin and canvas, as the breadroom is, and with a hatch above. Have also found it useful to keep a bonnet [a small sail] in the hatchway to cool the hold. Crossed the Line on May 15. A week later they spoke the Dutch *Nieuw Zeeland*, bound for Batavia, commanded by 'Cornelius Cornelison'. Would have sent letters by her, but the next day they lost company, though they had sight of another Dutch ship, for whom the former was probably staying. Chased a carrack and a galleon on June 8, but lost them during the night. On June 27 they saw land near Cape 'Bon Sperance', but did not attempt to stay there, as the season was far spent and their people were all in good health. Reached St. Augustine's Bay on July 17, and found there a Dutch ship, the *s'Gravenhage*, from Gombroon. She had been as high as Cape Agulhas, but had been driven back by bad weather.[1] Understood that the *James* had left three days before, but intended to await them at the Comoros; and that the *Intelligence* would stay there also until August 20. Heard the heavy news of the death of many good friends, including President Rastell, and of the great famine and mortality in India. Have procured good refreshing here at 5 to 7 beads for a bullock; but most of their beads were so bad that they could hardly put them off. The inhabitants seemed glad of their coming, and have used them very well. At the request of the Dutch commander they have supplied him with provisions, taking an obligation for satisfaction at Surat or Batavia. Intend to sail on August 1. Their bread and beer have proved generally good. The present proportion of water and stockfish should be continued for future fleets, as to this they ascribe the good health of their men. The beef for their first spending was unsavoury and also deficient in quantity; that for the last spending is very good. The *Jonas* has been leaky ever since she started, but the defect has now been remedied. The *Swallow* was in the same condition at first; the leak has been stopped and she is at present 'thight'. There has been little difference in the sailing of the various ships. The rigging and sailcloth are worse than before, and their lamps were very defective until mended. Only five men lost in the whole

[1] See the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, pp. 172, 189.

fleet; enclose their names. *Signed by John Weddell, Richard Swanley, John Hatch, Richard Monk, John Jay, Giles Waterman, Edward Kirkham, Roger Giffard, Thomas Ross, E[dward] Seagar, and Thomas Turner.* (3 *pp. Received April* 10 [1633] *by the* s'Gravenhage.)

EDWARD KIRKHAM, IN THE *CHARLES* AT ST. AUGUSTINE'S BAY, TO THE COMPANY, AUGUST 1, 1632 (*O.C.* 1442).

Account of the voyage. Their speedy passage with fair winds persuades him that the time at which they started will ever be best for sending out fleets. Through non-observance of the seasons the *James* has lost her monsoon; while the *Pearl*, which started more than three months before this fleet, arrived here only 25 days earlier. Three days before their arrival the *James* left for Johanna, where she will wait for them till August 25. The pinnace *Intelligence* departed hence on June 8 for the Comoros, where she is to stay until August 20. The *Pearl* arrived here on June 21, and left about the 3rd ult., resolving to touch at those islands to acquaint Mr. Burley of their coming. Found here the Dutch *s'Gravenhage* which, with her consort, the *Der Veer*, had got as high as Cape 'Degollis' [Agulhas], but had been driven back by foul weather. Nothing is known as to the fate of the other.[1] The fleet has supplied the wants of the Dutch [*see O.C.* 1439], in recognition of similar services on their part to English shipping. These Hollanders on February 25 met off Cape Jask an English fleet bound for Persia. Will determine concerning their going first to Gombroon when they have reached Johanna and perused President Hopkinson's commission to them. As for the state of Surat and the adjacent countries, 'Signor Willibrand' gives a very pitiful relation of two years' famine and a following great plague, which has swept away so many that in some places there is none left to burn the dead. Many of the English have lost their lives, including President Rastell, whose death cannot but cause much distraction in the Company's affairs. Will do their best in 'this misserable and unhappie time'. Praises Weddell's abilities and

[1] She got into Antongil Bay (Madagascar). The two resumed their voyage later and reached Table Bay in November. Thence they departed for Europe in company with the English *Blessing*. (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 189.)

zeal, and assures the Company of his own desire to do them service. Believes their business this year will depend much on Persia. They are now going to Johanna. Have found good refreshing here. India affords no place comparable with this for cheapness and goodness of things; so that it is an excellent place of rendezvous. As Mr. Fuller has left Persia, they will be destitute of a minister there; begs that the Company will send one in the next fleet. *PS.*—The cargo of the *s'Gravenhage* consists of 400 bales of silk, 886 churls of indigo, 200 bales of calicoes, 80 bales of cotton yarn, 60 tons of pepper, and 120 tons of saltpetre, besides some lac and rhubarb. That of her consort is 350 bales of silk, 800 churls of indigo, 150 bales of calicoes, 40 tons of pepper, 80 tons of saltpetre, and some lac and rhubarb. ($3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Received by the* s'Gravenhage *April* 10 [1633].)

RALPH CARTWRIGHT AT MASULIPATAM TO PRESIDENT HOPKINSON AT SURAT, AUGUST 8, 1632 (*O.C.* 1443).

Perceives by the Surat letter to the Agent of May 10 (received here the 5th current) that theirs from Mr. Norris, etc. of February 20 came to hand on May 2. Thanks Hopkinson for his promise to write to the Company on his behalf, and would be glad to do some service for him in return. Will not quit these parts until the factories are better supplied. Is very sorry to part with their good Agent. Hears that it is intended to send Hunter hither again, 'with whome tis impossible I should accorde, nor shall ever the Companies affayres prosper where disention is.' In that event, the writer desires that he may be allowed to return to his country, whence he has been long absent. Conceives that his abilities in the Company's service equal, if not exceed, those of Hunter; but must leave the matter to their censures. The charges of pattamars to which objection has been taken were incurred by Mr. [Sill], who is to give satisfaction herein. (1 *p. Received October* 10.)

THOMAS ROSS, ABOARD THE *JONAS* AT JOHANNA, TO THE COMPANY, AUGUST 22, 1632 (*O.C.* 1444).

Wrote on April 17 by the *Anne* of London, one Dennis master; and again on July 31 by the Dutch *s'Gravenhage*, which they found in St. Augustine's Bay on July 17. The fleet sailed from thence

on August 1, and after a lingering passage reached Mohilla on the 17th and Johanna two days later. Met there the *Royal James* and the *Intelligence*, and heard from Mr. Burley, master of the latter, the news of famine and mortality in India, the death of Mr. Rastell, etc. Received also letters from the President and Council of Surat, strictly enjoining them to go first to Persia, notwithstanding their instructions from the Company. These letters were brought by Richard Quail, whom they found at Johanna in command of a ship about 100 tons burthen, named the *Seahorse*. He produced His Majesty's commission 'for his ranginge the seas all the world over'; 'wherof wee haveinge taken due notice, and he requiringe in His Majesties name some small supplye of provissions, we doe spare it him, he returninge us in lieu therof ryce, gravances, cuscus, etc., and for the remayner his bills[1] upon the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer, in conformitye [with] His Majesties commision, for the satisfacion [of] Your Worshipps in England. They report to have given chase to six junkes (sayd Mallabars) about [the] Redd Sea in August, 1631; wherof two were made prize, [the] rest escaped. For what wee understand, they are partlye laden with ryce, opium, some silke stuffes, bullone, and gold; the rest not knowne. They pretend to departe hence for Isle Mayottees [Mayotta, one of the Comoros] to carreene their shippe, and thence for England.' The fleet will sail to-morrow for Persia, accompanied by the *James* and the *Intelligence*. Since leaving Madagascar the *Jonas* has only lost one man, who died of the flux. Two remained behind, besides the old black whom they brought out of England. (1½ *pp. Seal. Received June* 20, 1634, *from Plymouth out of Capt. Quail's ship.*)

[Thomas Colley] at Armagon to President Hopkinson at Surat, August 23, 1632 (*O.C.* 1445).

Met the *Intelligence* at Johanna, from whom he understood that Hopkinson was in good health. Now sends his best respects and lets him know that, since seeing him at St. Lawrence, the Company's

[1] For 44*l*. The Committees disapproved of Weddell's action in the matter, and ordered the amount to be charged to his account (*Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1635–39, p. 182).

just dealing with the writer has hastened his approach to India, where they have employed him for five years at a salary of 40*l.* Begs the President's favour and assistance on account of his 'ancient love shewed my father whilst hee was yet alive'. He will learn by the present conveyance 'of the Companies cargazon in the next fleet for disingagements att Surratt, together with the augment of their Joynt Stock'. For Europe news, 'the King of Swethland hath gott the victorie over the Imperialists, and at our departure was in faire election for the Empire of Germany; God prosper him. Our Queene had a daughter in September last. Marquis Hamelton is gone for the Low Countryes with abundance of volentiers. No newes of a Parlament. Sir Thomas Coventrye, the Earle of Holland, and My Lord of London in great favour with the King.'[1] Captain Weddell was in command of a fleet for Surat, consisting of the *Charles*, *Jonas*, *Hart*, *Dolphin*, and *Swallow*. The *Discovery* and *Reformation* had safely arrived at Gravesend. A small ship, called the *Jewel*, was bound for Bantam. (*Copy.*[2] 1 *p.*)

John Norris and Ralph Cartwright at Masulipatam to the President and Council at Surat, August 29, 1632 (*O.C.* 1446).

Wrote on the 8th current, in answer to theirs of May 10; enclose a copy. Since then, on the 20th arrived at Armagon a new ship, the *Pearl*, of 250 tons, with a cargo amounting to 10,300*l.* for the Old Joint Stock, and factors to manage it with their assistance. 'Tis strange to behold what small esteeme theise parts are in with the Company;' the ignorance of those whom they send forth would much injure their interests, 'wear it not by you prevented, whose authority conferred on us wee resolve to contynew tell either from our masters or you it be expressely contradicted,

[1] These references are to the victory of Gustavus Adolphus over Tilly at Breitenfeld on September 7, 1631; the birth of Princess Mary; and the Marquis of Hamilton's expedition to the Baltic in July, 1631, in aid of the Swedish King. Lord Coventry (here spoken of by his former title) was then Lord Keeper, and Lord Holland Chief Justice in Eyre. The Bishop of London was the celebrated William Laud.

[2] On the same paper are the following notes: 'Grua-redye, chiefe was of Mondero. Leoma que quistoma, 2. Calipolon, the island ¼ leaug. Commenenny Kistama was kild. Morador d'Baputla. Mier Ahassan angry.' These relate to the events narrated in Colley's letter of October 3 (p. 233).

hopeing neverthelesse in them now arrived to find good conformitye.' The season is very late to accomplish their design this year for Macassar, and it would doubtless have been past hope but for the contract made last year in 'Pettipolee' and the investment lately commenced in 'Verasheroone'. Will do their best to effect what remains with all celerity. 'Our suite to this King (advised you in our last) mett with opposition by Mirza Rosvan [*see* p. 99], rendedare[1] of this place, and chancellour of this kingdome, who, it seemes, with some other great men expect a bribe, which in theise parts will open any passage, and without which nothing can be effected except per force, which the Dutch have and doe make use off, being therfore the better esteemed. Such is the miserable condicion of this cuntry, whence justice and truth are fleed long since, the poore exceedingly suffering the riches tyrannie without redresse.' By the next conveyances will send their accounts for the Third General Voyage, with a valuation of the remains in Armagon, etc., which shall be transferred to the present stock in accordance with former orders. *PS.*—It will be seen from the Company's instructions to the newcomers that they have an inclination towards the provision of a cargo here for England; whereto they will doubtless be the more induced when they shall understand the baftas of 'your parts' to fail them. Would be glad of such an occasion to have employment for the whole year, without which and means beforehand little can be expected, as the sorts required by the Company are not so suddenly to be procured as they imagine. 'Off late their hath fallen such an abundance of raigne in theise parts as the like hath not beene knowne in divers yeares tofore; through which and the Almighties blessing wee are in greate expectacion of a plentifull harvest, to the exceeding joy of all poore people, by famine and mortallitie reduced now to a small number.' (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

Thomas Woodson at Masulipatam to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, September 27, 1632 (*O.C.* 1447).

Thanks him for his letter of the 17th from Petapoli. Acknowledges it by this piece of paper, 'which we did wett with a cupp of sacke (before I blotted itt with inke) to your health and

[1] Farmer (Port. *arrendador*).

Mr. Cartwrights (though unacquaynted).' Is glad of his content in meeting a friend and place so to his liking; 'questionles such happines many tymes add many dayes unto a mans life.' 'The judge,[1] the doctor, and both my sonns remember theyr love.' One of the latter has gone to 'Verasherone' to assist Hudson. Thanks him for remembering 'my pillowbers' [pillow-cases]; would be glad of two or three pairs and a 'chitte' [chintz] to make a quilt. (1 *p.* *Received October* 3.)

EMANUEL ALTHAM AT ARMAGON TO THE SAME, SEPTEMBER 28, 1632 (*O.C.* 1448).

Would be glad that their reciprocal courtesies should be continued. Prices demanded by 'the leade merchants'. 'Our countrymen had rather a hethen should thrive [then one] of there nation, and will rather take less of the one then o[f the] other.' Desires (in addition to what Cartwright is providing for him) a few 'painted pilloberes, very good workes and collers, as alsoe s[ome] red broade lansoles[2] for England.' Has appointed one [ ] in Masulipatam to send Colley what money he desires. Is ready to do him the like courtesies. *PS.*—Understands he is well furnished with 'Ormus [earth ?]'; begs to be spared a little. (1 *p.* *Defective.* *Noted as answered October* 20.)

ROBERT ADAMS AT ARMAGON TO THE SAME, SEPTEMBER 28, 1632 (*O.C.* 1449).

Thanks him for having treated with the Agent regarding Adams's going to Bantam, which he understands will be allowed. Is glad that Colley has such good company as Cartwright; hopes they will keep a good house together, 'and drincke punch[3] by no allowanc.' Desires him to transmit to Masulipatam Adams's and Clark's[4] commendations to Woodson and Thomas Clark. Inquires

[1] This is probably a sportive epithet.

[2] 'Painted lanzoll gingams' occurs in a list of piece-goods in 1615 (*O.C.* 291). From a reference on a later page it would seem that they were counterpanes.

[3] This appears to be the earliest known mention of this famous drink. The name is derived from the Hind. *pānch*, 'five', in allusion to the number of ingredients used.

[4] Probably John Clark, surgeon at Armagon.

when the ship will return. *PS.*—The surgeon wishes to be commended to Colley and thanks him for the tobacco. (*Seal.* 1 *p. Received October* 5 *and answered on the* 20*th.*)

Thomas Woodson at Masulipatam to Thomas Colley [at Petapoli], September 28, 1632 (*O.C.* 1450).

Has just received his of the 25th, with the 'pillowbers', for which he thanks him. The cost shall be made good in any way desired. Will inquire for the striped stuffs he wants and will send them by the first opportunity. The bearer was dispeeded yesterday, but has stopped in town all night. *PS.*—Mr. Wolsely [?] would have written, but the messenger is waiting to depart. (1 *p.*)

Ralph Cartwright at 'Vantapooly'[1] to the Same, October 1, 1632 (*O.C.* 1451).

After leaving Petapoli, he reached 'Baputla'[2] on September 28, visited the Governor and other Moor friends, and left again the next day at noon, having made no purchases, as the sorts he required were not to be had. At the instant of his arrival 'departed the Dutch on hossback, haveing ridd a mare all night'. The Dutchman's servant, when returning to his lodgings the previous evening, was laid hold of by the Governor's peons and 'clapt upp in prison all night, and his masters dagger delivered to the Governor for its safer keeping. He cannot say but the Governor used him verry kyndly; for after 2 or 3 gentle reproofes for straying on Gimmerat [*juma-rāt*, 'Friday-eve', i. e. Thursday evening], he delivered him his weapon, gave him beetle, and soe the noble knyght pricked onwards to follow his adventures.' Arrived at 'Nynapooly'[3] on the evening of the 29th; and, having visited his former acquaintances, both 'committes' [*see* p. 183] and weavers, perceives that he will be able to perform some service in this neighbourhood. Intends to remain till next Friday [5th], and then return to Petapoli. Hopes to bring with him a thousand pieces of cloth, and also ten or more washers. For their accommodation the 'Bramon' [Brahman]

[1] Vetapālemu, about 10 miles south-west of Bāpatla.

[2] Bāpatla, the headquarters of a tāluk of the same name. It is about 13 miles west of Petapoli.

[3] Nayanapalli, a village near Vetapālemu.

and 'Janga' are to buy two pagodas' worth of toddy trees, with whatever else is necessary to build them a house 'in our great court next to the cookroome'. 'Allsoe lett the Brahmon (soe be he hath chunam [*chunām*, lime] sufficient) get my chamber plaistred and made eaven, whiting it somewhat hansomly.' The washers should be hastened, but care should be taken that they 'cure' the cloth well and not spoil it in beating, as they have done before. 'Our merchants bringing in their cloth according to promise, pray you (with the helpe of the Bramon) looke it over and make its price, that it may be delivered out to waishers; but not to ours till they have brought in what they allready have, being a good quantity, which Grua[1] will give you notice of, as likewise of our merchants accompts; whoe if they desire moneys, lett them have gold, and defferre its price makeing till my retorne or order from Mr. Norris. But pray you allwayes keepe aforehand with either of them 100 pag[oda]s at least; elce will they shew us a trick. Their condition is such, and you may confyde it.' Will bring his accounts with him. If Colley is writing to Masulipatam, he should remind the steward of their wants, and also ask him to speak to the Agent about Cartwright's buttons. Left behind him in the warehouse a parcel of 'fyne moores', which should be priced and kept till his return. A merchant named 'Commer Bampa' [Kammavaru Bampa] promised to bring samples to the house; should he offer any good cloth, it may be bought 'for gold at 70 pag[oda]s per sere or Venetianoes [sequins] at 14 fa[nam] per piece'. Bespoke five or six tailors before his departure; if they appear they should be set to work on his pillowbeers, and something found for them to do till his return, when they shall have employment for two months at least. 'Janga' to be reminded of Cartwright's instructions. 'Canchee [Kanchi], that rougue,' should not be allowed to come into the house. *PS.*—The Brahman should buy some cotton to embale the goods. If the packer arrives, he should be employed in making heads etc. for bales. Has written in haste and kept no copy. (2 *pp.*)

[1] Guruva. He is also referred to as 'the Brahman' (see above, and p. 242).

Thomas Colley at 'Pettapooly' to the Agent [at Masulipatam], October 2, 1632[1] (*O.C.* 1382).

Received his letters on September 30, and after perusal sent them to Cartwright at 'Ninapooly', for which place he departed on September 28 to buy 'clothing'. The Dutchman from Masulipatam arrived here on the 25th and, finding little hope of a market, hastened for 'Ninapooly and adjacent aldeas' [*see* p. 91]; but, being 'tardiff [slow] in caminha' [Port. *caminhar*, to travel], he was overtaken by Cartwright at 'Baputly' on the 28th. The Dutchman having passed the former night 'in fresh bayting', his servant was imprisoned by the Governor's peons and his master's dagger was carried to the Governor, who restored it next morning with sharp reproofs. Trusts that through this negligence the Dutchman's designs will be frustrated. 'The Governour in this his progresse hath with his owne hands cut a moc[adam] d'campa[2] in two peeces for not sowing his grownd with corne, etc.; which act of his hath cawsed an uproare in this country, and all the rest of the people are bag and bag[gage] going away; which is like to bee some hinderance to our buisnesse. The effect I know not; but his dealings are very harsh, as wittnesse the poore people dayly with their clamours.' Cartwright is sending ten washers, whose help will be welcome. Three bales have already been received from the merchants and more are expected daily; 'but these last eight dayes hath fallen such abundance of rayne that the washers cannot fynd time to dry what is in their hands.' The letter for Armagon mentions 'Raga Chitties servants conosnts,[3] importing 300 pag[odas]', but Colley is unable to find them in the packet. Begs the immediate dispatch of a packer for their cloth. Paper and ink much needed, especially the former. *P.S.*—Sherwood's defence 'of shiftinge it to his man is fabulus'. The latter's greatest fault was in concealing the matter from Colley till he was at his journey's end. Probably this was

[1] Dated 1631 on the letter, but the error is corrected in the endorsement.

[2] This seems to be a phrase of the writer's own invention for what he afterwards calls 'one of these cuntry [Port. *campo*] mocadams' [Hind. *muqaddam*, a headman]. The disturbances alluded to in the text are noted in the Batavia *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 144; also the downpour of rain.

[3] Possibly meant for 'cognizance', an Old English form of 'recognizance', in the legal sense of a bond or obligation.

due to a hope of receiving something from his master; 'which fayling, out comes the trueth.' (*Copy. 1 p. On back, rough notes of goods received.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 3, 1632[1] (*O.C.* 1383).

Wrote yesterday asking for a packer. Since then has arisen a 'combustion' which is like to hinder seriously their masters' affairs. Has already advised 'of the Governours crueltie towards one of these cuntry mocadams, called Commenenay Kistima [Komminēni Krishnama] of Baputly, who was slaine by the Governours owne hand. Whereon one Grua Redie [Guruva Reddi], a moredor [Port. *morador*, a resident] of Mondrero, seconded by one Leomaque Quistima, being two mocadams d' campa, have gathered head, to the number of three or four hundred in armes, and seated themselves on a iland called Calipolon, two miles east from Pettapooly, where they intend to keep themselves untill they bee revenged of the Governour; having by force inforced all the men they can gett to bee of their side, in such manner that no man dares to goe abroad. All the men in this towne are gon to them, and all men elce (except strangers) are warned by tomorrow night, on forfeiture of their lives, to depart this place and joyne with them. Our washers and paynters also . . . are forbidden to goe out of the English howse after two dayes they have dryed what cloth was then wett.' Requests the Agent to write to 'the chief of the complices [confederates]' to permit these men to go on with their work, 'for except they have lycence they dare do nothing.' Would have gone in person, but could not leave the house 'in this confused tamalcye'[2]. 'They have gott all the sangrees[3] of this side Baputly and of all the rivers unto the iland among them, and all the towne boats are to goe to them this day. This fellow is of the strongest side, and therefore wee must now [not ?] trust to him. The Governour is att Baputly, where hee does the like and is 200 strong; but I thinke they will never bee neerer each other. But what of one side the Governour and on the other the country

[1] The MS. has '1631', but this is obviously a slip.

[2] Perhaps the Port. *tumulto*, a row or tumult, is intended.

[3] Rafts formed by placing boards across a couple of canoes (Malayālam *channātam*), and used for ferrying bulky goods or vehicles across a river.

people, here is nothing but acclamacion and whipping, etc.' Can get nothing to further their occasions. 'Mier Ahassen' [? Mīr Hasan] arrived last night from the Governor very much discontented. Cartwright left here three soldiers, who assist Colley in watching, but could do little if there should be occasion. Suggests that a couple of Englishmen should be sent to help. 'The mocadams hath threatned to sett the towne on fier, and what they will do I know not.' Fears to engage more soldiers, lest he should offend one side or the other. There is a danger that if either be 'oppressed', they may take refuge at the English house and so involve him. Leaves this business to the consideration of the Agent; in the meantime will send word to Cartwright. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

Ralph Cartwright at 'Perrally'[1] to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, October 4, 1632 (*O.C.* 1452).

Reached this town ('on thother side Baputla from you') to-night with certain 'pingaes'[2] of cloth. Shall buy some more here, and will be near the bar to-morrow with the lot. Understands that the 'sangaree' in which they usually pass the river has been taken away by the 'morradores' and the passage stopped; desires therefore that the Brahman be sent to deliver the enclosed to 'Mier-Hussen', and that Colley will at the same time request the latter to provide a boat (the hire of which they will pay) to transport the goods from the bar to Petapoli. 'Janga' should be sent in the boat with mats, etc., to keep the cloth dry in case of rain. The Brahman must further bespeak some good chunām for the new washers, as also some great pots such as they use, for they cannot bring these things with them. Moreover, a place should be fitted in the new room to boil the cloth, 'as our old waishers doe in our cookeroome.' *PS.*—If 'Meere Hussen' be not in town, application should be made to 'the chiffest Moore there'. (*Seal.* ½ *p.*)

[1] Perala, a village 5 miles north-east of Vetapālemu.

[2] This obscure term is possibly connected with *bangī*, the shoulder-yoke for transport of goods, and also the goods thus carried.

John Norris and Thomas Clark at Masulipatam to the Same, October 6, 1632 (*O.C.* 1453).

Have received his of the 2nd, and have noted its contents. Are sorry that the merchants with whom they contracted last year are so backward in bringing in their cloth. Colley should place no reliance on their promises, but urge them on by all means in his power, sending daily to their houses, and if necessary using threats, 'for theise people are wondrous slacke in their performances.' The washers Cartwright is to bring will be very useful, as only two can be induced to go to Petapoli from this place, 'through the great implayment they receave heer from the Dutch, Danes, and Moores.' In their last they advised that these two would accompany the pattamar; but it is now found that they have stayed to finish some work and cannot start for two or three days. Two packers were dispatched to them yesterday. They are to be paid 2½ pagodas a month, and have been advanced one month's salary. 'They are to have noe batty [*bhatta*, subsistence money], but to serve your occasions as need shall require.' It will not be necessary to engage any more. (*Seal.* 1 *p.*)

The Same to the Same, October 7, 1632 (*O.C.* 1454).

Have just received his letter of the 3rd, complaining of the troubles in those parts. Blame him for not engaging more 'cuntry souldiers' to secure the Company's estate. Cannot spare him any English at present, as they have only four; so he must do his best, burying his money in the house if necessary. *PS.*—Have written herewith to the chief of the 'rebellious crewe' and will procure also a letter from Mīr Kamāldīn. (1 *p.*)

The Voyage of Captain Weddell's fleet to Persia and India [1] (*Marine Records*, vol. lvii. p. 1).

1632, *March* 14. Sailed from Gravesend. *March* 29. Left the Downs. *April* 1. Put into Portland Road ('called the Grasse').

[1] No clue has been found to the name of the writer, but he was on board the *Jonas*, probably as master's mate. The master appears to have been Richard Monk.

At Surat the writer was transferred to the *Exchange* (Dec. 28, 1632) and sent in her to the west coast of Sumatra and Bantam. The rest of the journal is concerned with this voyage.

April 5. Sailed again. *April* 14. Saw two English ships, bound for the Straits. *April* 17. Met with the *Anne* of London, bound for the Canaries. *April* 23. Saw Grand Canary. *May* 6. Mr. Hatch came on board and preached a sermon. *May* 23. Passed a Dutch ship of 1,200 tons, bound for the Cape. *July* 17. Reached St. Augustine's Bay. *August* 1. Sailed again. *August* 14. Saw Mohilla. *August* 15. William Swanley went in the barge to Johanna. *August* 17. Anchored off Mohilla. *August* 18. The barge returned from Johanna, where she had found the *James*. Sailed for that island. *August* 24. The fleet departed for Persia. *September* 4. Crossed the Line. *September* 16. Saw Ras-al-hadd. *September* 17. The *Intelligence* rejoined after about a week's absence. She had taken a Malabar junk and put seven Englishmen in her; but the crew rose, murdered three, including the master's mate (named Hall), and carried off the vessel. *September* 23. Saw the coast of Persia. *September* 25. Anchored in Jask Road. Heard that Captains Slade and Pynn had passed by the day before on their way to Gombroon, and three Dutch ships before them. *September* 26. Sailed again. *October* 2. Reached Gombroon, where they found the *Mary* and the *Exchange*; also three Hollanders and a junk. *October* 22. Departed for Surat. *November* 4. [Thomas] Rose died of a fever and Richard Hudson [1] 'of a bloody flix, beeinge his kinsman'. *November* 9. Martin Hopkinson died. *November* 24. Land seen. *November* 28. The fleet anchored in Swally Hole. (47 *pp.*)

CAPTAIN JAMES SLADE, ABOARD THE *MARY* IN GOMBROON ROAD [2], TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 12, 1632 (*O.C.* 1455).

Wrote last by the *Blessing*, giving an account of events since they left England. On April 28 the *Mary* and *Exchange* sailed from Surat for Armagon, where they arrived on May 24. They left again on the 27th and reached Masulipatam three days later. Their instructions were to wait only fifteen days for such goods as the Moors had in readiness to send to Persia; but finding this time too short they stayed till the end of June. They took on

[1] Not the Hudson who served on the Coromandel Coast.

[2] 'Beinge redy to sett sayle for Surratt.' There is an abstract of this letter in *O.C.* 1456.

board between 400 and 500 parcels of goods and about 130 passengers. Each of the latter paid 20 rials of eight, while for the former freight was charged at 16 per cent. of the customhouse valuation; in all a sum of 8,000 rials was received. This course may in time prove very beneficial if regularly adopted, but the Moors must have a year's notice beforehand each time in order to provide their goods. The Company would find it advantageous to send goods from the Coast to Persia on its own account; but no doubt the President and Council will advise on this point. The ships sailed from Masulipatam on June 29, and after some trouble, owing to contrary winds and currents, crossed the Line on July 21 and again on August 24, and on September 15 anchored off Jask. Finding that none of the other English ships had arrived, a letter was left for them and the voyage was resumed for Gombroon on September 17. The same day they fell in with three Dutch vessels from Batavia bound for that port, under 'John Castison [Jan Carstenszoon], the same that was comandor of the three Dutch shipps Your Worshipps stayd soe long in Portsmouth'.[1] From them they learnt that the *William* had reached Bantam in safety, as also the *Speedwell* from the coast of Sumatra. On October 3 arrived here Captain Weddell's fleet, together with the *James* and *Intelligence*. Mr. Skibbow died and was buried at St. Augustine's. Heynes died last August. Kirkham is welcome here; 'I could wish you had noe worse at Surratt.' (2 *pp. Received overland on September* 25, 1633.)

Richard Fitch at Masulipatam to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, October 17, 1632 (*O.C.* 1458).

The waters between this place and Petapoli have been so high that nothing could be sent without risk of being spoilt; but, now they are abated, he forwards Colley's zithern and zithern book, the felt cloth, and as good a piece of Golconda stuff as could be got at the price. It cost him a pagoda and one fanam, 'with a great deale of intreatie.' Would have sent a second, but was doubtful whether Colley would approve the price. Begs that the amount may be returned to him in caps of a good sort. *PS.*—Has sent Cartwright

[1] In 1627; for details see the *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1625–29, p. 394, &c.

64 biscuits, a pair of tables, some English fish, and a 'gulgalet' [an earthenware water-bottle]. Begs Colley to let Cartwright know of this. Also sends Colley's pillow. The 'pingo'[1] should be paid on arrival; Fitch has only given him 'battie [*see* p. 235] and some cash[2] to cary hime over the river'. (*Seal.* 1 *p.* *Received October* 20.)

THOMAS CLARK AT MASULIPATAM TO THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI, OCTOBER 18, 1632 (*O.C.* 1459).

Could not find time to write before, 'our freinds being all gone to Bengala,[3] as you well know, and I heer left haveing as much businesse to performe as well I am able.' Spends his spare hours with Fitch the steward. Remembers his service to Cartwright, though personally unknown. 'Wee wish you sharrers with us in our good drincke, now growing to a loe ebbe, not being above 12 pinte bottles in a case, which the master bestowed one mee before his departure.' Would have supplied him with some, were it worthy of sending so far. (*Seal.* ½ *p.* *Received October* 21.)

THOMAS CLARK AT MASULIPATAM TO [RALPH CARTWRIGHT], OCTOBER 18, 1632 (*O.C.* 1459 A).

Captain Altham has desired him to pay Cartwright twelve pagodas, but at present he is unable to do so, and has written to Altham to that effect. Served Mr. Sambrooke for seven years and was by his influence appointed a factor in the *Pearl.* Hopes the Agent will allow him to stay on the Coast with Cartwright, and that the latter will befriend him for Sambrooke's sake.[4] (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

1 Possibly a *bangī*, bearer (see note on p. 234).

2 The small coins thus termed.

3 According to the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34 (p. 120), the *Pearl* left Armagon for Masulipatam on September $\frac{8}{18}$, and started from the latter place for Bengal on October $\frac{11}{21}$.

4 Cartwright has added a note to the effect that on receipt of this letter he satisfied Altham for the moneys: entreated Agent Norris to permit Clark to remain: and at his going to Bengal left many things with him, for which Clark gave an acknowledgment (quoted), dated April 1, 1633.

William Fall, under sail off Gombroon, to President Hopkinson at Surat, [October] 19, 1632 (*O.C.* 1470).

Having met at port the expected ships, could not omit this opportunity of writing. Has sent by Captain Pynn in the *Exchange* a chest of rosewater as a 'pishcaske' [Pers. *pīshkash*, a present] for want of a better. Commends to him the bearer, Mr. Sill, who arrived here 'with the rest of the delinquent factors'. (½ *p.*)

Edward Kirkham, Thomas Ross, John Sherland, and William Fall at Gombroon to the Company, October 21, 1632 (*O.C.* 1461).[1]

Weddell's fleet arrived October 2, accompanied by the *Royal James* and the *Intelligence.* The latter had met them at Johanna with instructions from Surat to make this their first port. Have opened, as ordered, the Company's letters to Surat, in order to inform themselves of the whole state of affairs. The *Mary* and *Exchange* reached this place from Masulipatam nine days before Weddell's fleet. Now proceed to answer the Company's letters of January 6 and March 16, 1632. . . . Note the Company's orders for the supply of goods for Persia from Surat, had the fleet gone first to the latter place. Owing to the mortality that has happened in India, there is now no such hope of benefit as formerly, and it will be long before Surat is restored to its pristine condition. Promise to abstain from private trade and to prevent it in others. . . . Are enforced to press the President and Council at Surat to supply by the returning ships a competent quantity of commodities fitting this place, and have sent them a list of those suitable. Have also advised them regarding the business of Masulipatam, as well for the benefit of freight as the interest the Company may have in the voyages. Have sent on to Surat the cloth consigned to that place, which they were authorized to take ashore here if they desired. Enclose an account of the goods and passengers brought from Masulipatam by the *Mary* and *Exchange.* What with the freight and the customs, the Company will benefit by nearly 3,000*l.* ; and that place is likely to prove better than Surat both for trade of shipping and return of merchandise. It will be necessary to

[1] There is a copy of part of this letter among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

arrange to have shipping there every year by April, in order that the merchants may have time to provide themselves for the voyage. They will not fail of store of commodities, in regard that it is a much better route than that of Surat, where they pay very chargeable customs and then freight. 'Two ships yearely sent cannot gaine Your Worships lesse then 10,000*l.* a yeare by fraight and customes, besides investments that will yelde 60 in 70 per cento profitt.' The trade is therefore likely to prove very beneficial 'and worthy your embracement'. This is another main reason why Gombroon should be made the first port. 'The southerne parts' [Bantam, etc.] might also concur with these; for the Dutch make their ready money here with commodities they bring thence, spices affording nearly as good prices as in Europe. 'And in case you have any designe for China or that way there are commodities that will make great profitt thence, whereof one in cheife is sugars.' The 'Duke of Xiras' [Shirāz] is busy raising an army for the taking of Muskat; but whether he will employ the English or the Dutch in the expedition is somewhat doubtful. The latter have offered to serve him if desired, 'thereby to ingratiate themselves into his favour and the Kinges, beinge much discouraged in this trade, in regard of their disesteeme heere, and wee beleeve he cares not for their service but depends on us.' Being forced to choose between undertaking the war or lessening their favour with 'him who is the pillar of our affaires', they have armed themselves with a general consultation of the seamen and merchants, having also the advice of the President and Council of Surat. 'Ytt is generally thought to bee a very easie warr, and that the place cannot hold out ten dayes, in regard their water may bee cut off without anie difficultie, and the irresistable armie the Duke meanes to send. As for the Portugals, they are not like to have anie helpe from Goa, where they want men to furnish their shipinge. What good may redoune to Your Worships in takeinge of it, if God soe please, wee cannot well informe you. Ytt will certainely bee a very good place of randevous for our shipeinge; as alsoe it will bee a meanes to increase the customes, and somewhat will acrue by the place itselfe. But, for the Duke, hee intendes to bee master of the Gulfe, or at leaste of the ports, and avoyde the anoyance of soe ill a neighbour as is the Portugall. Wee cannot say what wee shall doe

therein, nor doe wee beleeve Your Worships are willinge to assiste him in that warr further then what you are necessitated unto; and thats our resolutione. The Portugals doe dayly decline in the Indies; and noe question oportunitie wilbee offered, either at Syndie [*see* p. 5] or Seland [Ceylon], or other partes there adjacente, wherby to joyne issue with those people and settle a trade may prove very bennificiall.' Here are in port three Dutch ships from Batavia, two of which are merchantmen and the third a convoy. They have landed some sugar and spices, and the merchantmen are said to be bound for Holland, after embarking what silk they can find here. None has yet come down, and they are likely to be disappointed of their expectation. Cannot furnish the desired statement from the customhouse books of what goods the Dutch have landed of late years, 'in regard they are as free off custome as wee are, and therefore noe notice taken of anythinge they land.' Possibly Gibson can guess or calculate the amount, but the factors here are unable to do so; 'yet shall wee not in yts due season omitt or relinquish our right of that natione.' Have inquired for pearls, but cannot meet with any worth buying; will do their best to get some. Thank the Company for sending them two butts of sack. The enclosed transcript of a letter to Surat will show what arguments they have used for the fleet making this their first port, viz. that the broadcloth will be delivered here in better condition; that it will 'concurr with our designe for Musilapatam'; and that it will furnish them at the right time with the money needed for the fulfilment of their yearly contract. Trust that these reasons will induce the President and Council to second their last year's commission to the next fleet, and will also divert the Company from directing their ships first to Surat. If they are here about the middle of September, that will be 'a reasonable season for our people to bee downe'. . . . Ross sent to Surat to assist. . . . (4 *pp. The rest of the letter relates to trade in Persia. Received by the* Blessing.)

THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI TO AGENT NORRIS [AT MASULIPATAM], OCTOBER 26, 1632 (*O.C.* 1462).

Thanks him for appointing him to this place, where he hopes so to behave as to give content both to his masters at home and to

Norris here. Begs the latter to suffer him to abide at Petapoli. Necessity, not pleasure, brought him to India, where heretofore he passed some years and got nothing. He has now come to make up for his lost time, and, while doing his masters service, to get something towards his maintenance when he returns to England. Is left to the world as an orphan, but trusts that Norris will be as a father to him. The good news of the Europe investment has confirmed his desires for Petapoli. Should he be sent to Armagon, Bantam, or any other place, he will fail of his expectation and want that furtherance he hopes to find among his good friends in this place. Begs Norris to pardon his boldness in making this request. (*Corrected draft.* 1 *p.*)

RICHARD HUDSON AT [ ] TO THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI, NOVEMBER 2, 1632 (*O.C.* 1464).

Thanks him for his letter of October 2, and is glad to renew their acquaintance. It is true that there is an account betwixt himself and 'Singere' [Singarayya], but if the latter has spoken of it to anyone, especially to Cartwright, 'hee is a basse stinking slave,' for he has never demanded it of Hudson. 'If to owe mooney be a sinne, God forgive all sinners.' Begs Colley to tell 'Singre' to send for his remaining goods, which were only got on approval to pleasure a friend. On learning the price from 'his servant the Dassery' [Dāsarī], Hudson found them overrated a hundred per cent.; some he accepted and will pay for when he comes to Masulipatam, but the rest will be returned. 'Ananto' [Ananta] has delivered a most base account; a true one shall be sent, with money to clear. 'Narrayna' [Nārāyana] dishonestly claims a debt of 35 pagodas, but Hudson owes him nothing. Colley may have some squabbling with 'Ananto' about 'ould or new mooney', but Hudson's bill 'importes nether one nor other; therfore to bee understood currant mooney of that place'. The 'patche [piece: *see previous volume*, p. 318] of parculla and allejaw' was given to Hudson by 'Singree'; if he will take anything for them, he should be paid; 'if not, accepte them from him or mee.' Any other things found there should be sent to Sherwood, who will forward them to Hudson. 'Growa Bramen' [*see* p. 231] has enough money in his hands to pay 'Annanto'. Desires Colley to recover it from

him, and send the balance, with an account, to Hudson. *PS.*—Fenn remembers his love, 'and in that coulde climate prefers worke before the chimney corner.' 'Heare is a helth to yourselfe and A. W.' (1 *p.*)

EMANUEL ALTHAM AT ARMAGON TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 6, 1632 (*O.C.* 1463).

Has received his of October 19, promising such reciprocal love as may stand with his ability or repute. Concerning his good counsel always, in addressing the Agent, to put 'Mr.' after 'Worshipful', he can only say that any omission of the kind was unintentional. Would be glad if Colley could provide for him without trouble the 'painetings' he wants from Petapoli; if not, Cartwright will probably assist him. (½ *p.* *Seal.* *Received November* 12.)

RICHARD FITCH AT MASULIPATAM TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 10, 1632 (*O.C.* 1465).

As desired, sends him the necessaries enumerated, including his 'kreas' [*krīs*, Malay dagger], for which he did not ask; this was added because Fitch hears that 'you live in a trublsome place with a trublsome nation, or perverce, or both'. Is 'ableeged' to him for 'the topps for capps'. Colley's other things left here have been put either into his chest or into the 'goedoun' [godown, or warehouse]. Has sent a note of the expense at Armagon. Colley's knives are partly sold, but no money has yet been received. Hopes to supply him with 'Gulkinda stuffs' by the next. (1 *p.* *Seal.* *Received November* 13.)

EMANUEL ALTHAM AT ARMAGON TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 16, 1632 (*O.C.* 1466).

Has received his of the 5th, 'intimating the many mischances hapned in your parts by an herracane.' Hopes the *Pearl* has not tasted thereof, or else has borne the brunt of it well. The boat 'of Mallaioes' [*see previous volume*, p. 358], wherein some things were sent him by Cartwright, arrived with great danger at Tegnapatam. Thanks Colley for his action in the matter. (½ *p.* *Seal.* *Received November* 22.)

EMANUEL ALTHAM AT ARMAGON TO THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI, NOVEMBER 22, 1632 (*O.C.* 1467).

Takes well the advice given in his letter of the 10th. Relates his efforts to reconcile their two friends, who are now again very familiar. Understands that 'paintinges' are scarce; if, therefore, Colley is unable to procure any for him, Altham will not doubt that he has done his best. (½ *p.*)

THOMAS WOODSON AT MASULIPATAM TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 24, 1632 (*O.C.* 1468).[1]

'Yesterdaye we arrived here in safetie. The tyme did not afforde our shipp the gettinge to our porte in Bengala; and soe, haveinge spent this tyme not to much purpose, we are retorned with the discoverie only of some places and ports which may yeald benefitt to our [imploiers in future tymes?]. In this voyage we have buryed Mr. Morris, the masters brother; two men more were drowned goeinge over the barr of Manecapatam' [*see* p. 189].[2] Commendations to Cartwright. Wrote before his departure for two or three quilts; would be glad to have them if possible. *PS.*—The judge [*see* p. 229] sends word that Colley's vermilion and quicksilver are unsold and desires instructions as to their disposal. (1 *p.* *Seal.*)

[1] Endorsed as received on November 27, together with a copy of a passport. The latter is transcribed on the back of the document, as follows:—'To all commanders, merchants, masters, etc., apertayning to the Honourable English Company Trading East India, salutes. This vessell, apertayning to Jullana, called ———, whereof is nacoda [*see* p. 31] ———, hath lycence this yeere from the Agent, etc., resident in ——— for the said Company, to negociate from the port of ——— hither, etc., free from any let or hinderance to her by you or your people, whom rather you are to intreate as frinds, provided they transport neither moneys, goods, jewells, letters, etc., appertayning to our enimyes the Portugales. So wishing you good successe in all your designes with [ ], Your very loving frind ———. The ——— of ———, etc.'

[2] The Dutch wrote from the Coast to Batavia that the *Pearl* had been to Bengal to exchange her lead, quicksilver, etc. for rice, butter, and piece-goods, but was prevented by contrary winds from accomplishing her designs. It is added that at Mānikpatam the English heard that Hūglī had been taken and plundered by the Mogul forces. (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 145.)

John Bangham, aboard the *Charles* [near Swally], to President Hopkinson, November 27, 1632 (*O.C.* 1469).

Leaves any account of this 'unfortunate and most disconsolate voyage' until a more convenient opportunity. This afternoon the fleet anchored between Surat Bar and the outer road of Swally. The *Charles* and her fleet, and also the *Intelligence*, joined the *James* at Johanna, while the *Mary* and *Exchange* were met at Gombroon. They sailed from that place 35 days ago, and have since been hindered by calms and cross winds, which it seems reign in these seas at this time of year. Bangham went aboard the *Shāhī* at Surat Bar to inquire after the President's health, etc., and thus was absent when Weddell sent his purser ashore with a letter. Hopkinson is hourly expected on board. *PS.*—Skibbow died at St. Lawrence, and several friends, including Sill and Ross, have deceased since the fleet left Gombroon. (1 *p.*)

George Willoughby, aboard the *James* [at Swally], to President Hopkinson at Surat, December 2, 1632 (*O.C.* 1472).

Regrets that he could not get on shore in time to see Hopkinson before his departure. Has understood that Mountney has made a great complaint against him; is sorry that there should be any cause for the accusation, as he desires peace, love, and quietness with all men. Admits that his sufferings have made him sensitive to discourteous words received, 'and therby retorning them agayne.' If he has erred, he is heartily sorry. This is not intended as a complaint against Mountney, whose friendship he duly respects. Would be glad to come to Surat when Hopkinson sends him order to do so. (1 *p.* *Received December* 3.)

Consultation held at Surat by President Hopkinson, Nathaniel Mountney, and Roger Giffard, December 3, 1632 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 167).[1]

The west coast of Sumatra being found by late experience a place where Indian commodities may be vended to good profit, it is decided to make an investment at Ahmadābād for this purpose,

[1] This series, extending to Sept. 25, 1633, is described as begun by Clement Dunscomb and continued by Benjamin Robinson.

and to send thither Mr. Wyche, with a sufficient stock of rupees, to put the matter in hand. Mr. [Thomas] Thimbleby[1] is to go with him as an assistant, and to take some broadcloth and knives as presents to the Governor, Dīwān, etc. During Wyche's absence Henry Glascock is to act as Warehousekeeper. Five chests of gold and ten of rials to be landed and committed to the charge of Mr. Joyce, who is to see to its safe conveyance to Surat. There being few or no buyers for their broadcloth, it is resolved to take on shore only two or three bales at first; if the Governor ('who is now our cheife marchant') approves of these, a further quantity may be landed. Captains Weddell and Slade to be summoned to Surat to consult about the disposal of the ships. John Bangham is appointed 'marchant of the Mareene' [*see* p. 19] 'for the shipping and unshipping of goods', with Walter Morrall and Thomas Rogers as assistants. 'Midas Parrecke' [Mahī Dās Pārak] dismissed from his post as 'the Companies broker generall', on account of his dishonesty and insufficiency. 'Pangue' is put into his place for the time being, but the matter is to be reconsidered on the return of 'Chowte', who is going to Ahmadābād with Wyche. John Willoughby is directed to proceed to Broach, with ten or twelve English as a guard, to bring down the calicoes which have been 'washt and whited' there. (2 *pp.*)

PEIXOTO DE CARVALHO AT DAMĀN TO PRESIDENT HOPKINSON AT SURAT, DECEMBER $\frac{5}{15}$, 1632 (*O.C.* 1473).

Thanks him for his letter; is always ready to comply with his wishes. Hopes soon to see him, and meanwhile Padre Paulo Reimão will give him an account of the writer's health. Sends commendations to Mr. Mountney, 'Senhor Mão de Páo'[2], and the fourth member of Council. Desires that his letters may not be shown. Begs to be remembered to Francisco de Costa, and also to the gentleman who presented him with a Turkish bow. (*Portuguese.* 1 *p.*)

[1] Often spelt 'Thimelby' in other documents.

[2] 'Wooden-hand': evidently a nickname, probably for Wyche.

Consultation held at Surat by President Hopkinson and Council and Captains Weddell and Slade, December 6, 1632 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 169).

It is decided to send the *Exchange* to the west coast of Sumatra, proceeding thence to Bantam, and from that place to England. The *Mary* is to go first to Bantam, and then to Persia to embark any silk that may be ready there. On her return, if she cannot get into Swally, she is to direct her course for Masulipatam, take on board such goods as are available there, and proceed to Bantam to complete her cargo for England. The question whether Weddell's fleet is to join in an attack upon Muskat is left to be decided by his Sea Council in conjunction with the Persia factors. They are 'to dispute with the Persians about the condicions for taking thereof, and in case the English can agree with them upon faire tearmes, then presently to putt the same in execucion'; otherwise they are to take on board such freight goods and passengers as are in readiness and forthwith return. All commodities suitable for Persia being at excessive prices, it is determined to confine their purchases on this account to such quantities of indigo as can readily be obtained in Ahmadābād at easy rates. The broadcloth brought out this year is to be sent to Persia, as it is too coarse to find vent in India. The 'place of randevouze' next year is to be some port in Persia, and Weddell is instructed to dispatch the *Intelligence* to the Comoros to advise the fleet from England accordingly, the choice of the particular port being left to him and his Council. Mr. Giffard having been appointed by the Company to take charge of the accounts at Surat, Mr. Mountney, 'who formerly kept them,' desired some respite to finish the same; 'but this Presidents continuall sicknes disabling him from performance of such weightie negotiacions as are daily incident to his place, gave this Councell just cause to desire and enorder that Mr. Mounteney assist him in the execucion thereof, and that in the Presidents absence [he] maie have full power and authoritie to confirme or disanull whatsoever shall seeme requisite to him in any part of India, as if himselfe were present.' The Company having strictly prohibited all their servants from using private trade, an 'act' is to be drawn requiring the Merchant of the Marine not only to forbear

the shipping of any but also to report the same; and further ordering the pursers, pursers' mates, and boatswains to do the like with all private goods, whether brought from England or taken on board at any port in the East. This notice is to be set up at the mainmast of every ship for general information. (2½ *pp.*)

Instructions from President Hopkinson and Council to Messrs. Wyche and Thimbleby, proceeding to Ahmadābād, December 10, 1632 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 175).

The goods they are to provide for the west coast of Sumatra must be sent down in time for dispatch from Surat by the middle of January. Goods to be purchased at Broach and Baroda on the way up. The Agra caravan, if met with, should be hastened to Surat. Doubtless Hunter has left both accounts and goods with Philip Wylde; but it would be well to demand them of him. Two or three hundred bales of indigo to be bought for Persia. A debt to be recovered at Baroda from the son of 'Tapidas'. *PS.*—Would be glad to hear of customers for the quicksilver and lead brought by the fleet. (1½ *pp.*)

An 'Act' by the President and Council of Surat against Private Trade, December 10, 1632 (*Ibid.*, p. 178).

'Duly weighing the strictnes of our honourable masters requiries and commands for the prevencion of private trade, as also our owne obleigments which doe bind us to the abolishing of such apparant wrongs and inconveniences, [we] doe therefore, by virtue of the power and authoritie conferred on us by the Kings Majestie our soveraigne, and also by the authoritie of our Honourable Companie, require and command that no person or persons of what quallitie or degree soever emploied by our Honourable English Companie presume to lade aboard or unlade from anie shipp or ships anie private trade, either from hence, England, or anie port or place whatsoever, upon penaltie of loosing all his or their commodities, confiscacion of wages, besides present corporall punishment to be inflicted for contempt of this our order, and afterwards to be sent home in irons. Wee likewise, according to our honourable emploiers injunccions in their comissions, for the better deteccion thereof doe streightly enjoyne all pursers, pursers mates,

and boatswains, upon penaltie of all the foregoeing punishments, to take speciall notice in writing of all private trade that shalbe laden aboard the said ships or unladen from thence at any time or times during this our voiadge. The Honourable Companie likewise, as well as ourselves, understanding by divers informacions that some merchants, pursers, mariners, etc., have formerly colloured Mores and Banians goods, thereby defrauding our said Companie and [the] Persian of their due custome there, [we] doe therefore prohibite the said person or persons, upon forfeiture of the premencioned penalties, to forbeare such sinister procedings for the future. Soe God keepe you.' (1 *p.*)

William Hoare, Gerald Pinson, and Robert Coulson at Bantam to the Company, December 10, 1632 (*O.C.* 1474).[1]

. . . In March last arrived from Surat the pinnace *Intelligence* with a brief letter announcing the death of President Rastell and sundry others, 'as allso the continueing misery of those parts,' and ordering the *James* to be laden for England. Had these instructions been sent with the *James* herself, she might by this time have been in England and a very great expense saved. About the middle of April the pinnace departed to meet the new fleet at the appointed rendezvous. . . . The *William* reached this place from Surat on August 1, bringing calicoes to the value of nearly 35,000 rials, but so dearly bought and so defective that they will hardly yield their prime cost. The vessel herself was much decayed, but has been repaired and is now as fit as when she came out of England. She sailed for Jambi on October 1. Received by the Dutch *Hoorn* advices from the *Pearl*, which sailed from the Cape for Armagon on May 26. Fear she will lose her monsoon for Macassar, owing to her late dispeed from England. Nothing heard of her since. On September 6 the *Jewel* arrived with the Company's letter of November 26, 1631, from which they were glad to learn 'the re-establishing of your Jointe Stock'. Assure the Company that this place will yield 'large and quick retournes, soe please you once thinke fitt to reduce it to its pristine praecincts and priviledges and to nourish it with becomming supplies of shipping and meanes, both immediately out of England as allso from

[1] An abstract forms part of *O.C.* 1483.

Suratt'. . . . Note the Company's 'purposed trade twixt this place and Coast Coromandell'. . . . Desire a larger supply of money in future, as neither Surat nor Coast goods will sell readily at present, even at cost price. . . . Desire that the 'power and comission to governe your people and punnish offenders, as well capitall as other,' may be restored to the Agent and Council. . . . ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. The rest deals with affairs at Bantam, &c.*)

THE CHARGES AGAINST GEORGE WILLOUGHBY AND HIS ASSOCIATES, WITH THEIR REPLIES, DECEMBER, 1632 (*O.C.* 1477).

A. *The Charges.*[1]

1. That they entered the fort of Armagon by force of arms, and seized and carried aboard Henry Sill, the lawful Agent. 2. That they shut up the doors and kept Read prisoner. 3. That they proclaimed Willoughby Agent on the Coast, although Read showed letters from Surat to the contrary. 4. That they denied the authority of President Rastell and made choice by consultation of Willoughby. 5. That Willoughby refused to show the clause of the Company's letter authorizing Rastell, though its production was demanded by Cartwright and Tempest. 6. That they seized Sill's estate and books, private as well as official. 7. That they placed Hunter in Sill's room, contrary to the Company's orders, thus prejudicing the affairs of the Old Stock; and also sequestered Sill's assistants from all employment. 8. That Willoughby refused to allow Cartwright to repair to England to answer his accusations. 9. That they ignored the demand made for Sill's trial on shore by a general consultation. 10. That they violently seized the Company's accounts out of Sill's hands. 11. That Willoughby declined to produce the letters from Surat in which Sill was appointed chief on the Coast and he himself Agent at Bantam. 12. That they bereaved the Coast of Sill and Read, to the injury of the Company's affairs. 13. That they produced no authority for these proceedings.

[1] Signed by Hopkinson, Mountney, Giffard, Wyche, and Joyce. A copy, dated December 10, 1632, will be found at p. 176 of vol. i of the *Surat Factory Records*.

B. *The Replies.*[1]

1. Deny that they seized the fort. They entered at the gate peaceably, and carried away Sill in an orderly manner for the benefit of the Company, 'as those that are superiors may, and ought to, deale with such as are under their direction and delinquents.' Willoughby showed his appointment from the said Company; whereupon he was by a general consultation 'acknowledged, published, and obeyed commaunder in that place, being Agent of Bantam and that parte a lymne of his jurisdiction for the tyme hee was there'. The reasons for Sill's removal were partly alleged in a consultation, etc., sent from Armagon to Surat. Willoughby and his Council acted not only on the report of others but also on their own experience of Sill's actions, which obliged them to remove him and Read (who was his right hand and furthered all his projects for private trade) and thereby free the Company's affairs from their monstrous proceedings. On Willoughby being acknowledged commander in the fort, Sill was in an orderly manner removed to the *Star* to take his passage to Bantam. The shortness of time and multiplicity of business prevented any formal proceedings in the matter at Armagon. 2. On the calling of the general consultation, Read seemed distracted, swearing and protesting that he would have caused the ordnance to be turned on Willoughby and his party, to shoot them to the devil; he was therefore confined to his chamber 'for avoyding of daunger', and it is 'very likely' that for the same reason gates were shut and guards posted. 3. Willoughby was 'published commander in Armagon' because without this he could not have removed the disorders. At this publication Read did not show any letters from Surat to the contrary. 4. The subscribers to the consultation did not deny Rastell's authority, nor did they confer on Willoughby any powers not warranted by the Company's letters. 5. Cartwright's demand was refused because it was only intended to disturb the quiet settling of the Company's affairs, and in fact the clause referred to was then on board the *Star*. Bix, Smith, Tempest, and Cartwright made no opposition to the proclamation of Willoughby as commander, and

[1] A copy forms *O.C.* 1478. This is signed by all concerned, and in addition John Hunter subscribes to its truth (February 6, 1633).

the first three signed the said consultation. 6. The sequestration of Sill's and Read's estates, etc., towards the satisfaction of the damages sustained by the Company was ordered by the same consultation that approved the removal of the former. Hunter, Bix, and Bearden were deputed to make an inventory thereof, which has been duly transmitted to Surat. 7. Hunter was so much approved by the Company that they not only gave him 80*l.* per annum on his coming out in the *Star*, but had at first intended him for cape merchant of that vessel 'and soe cheife director of hir cavidall on the Coast, which was upwards of sixteene thowsand pound sterling, beeing seaven tymes more then was left him at Armagon'. Hunter was also by his former long residence on the Coast well acquainted with the trade and people. He was not left there contrary to the Company's orders, for they had expressly allowed his remaining there if necessary. He was elected chief by consultation, and his appointment could not be prejudicial to the Company's affairs, since his experience made him better able to do them service than either Sill or Read. Sill's assistants, viz. Read, Cartwright, and Tempest, were called to council by the Agent, but were 'soe refractory and madly disposed' (owing apparently to the frustrating of their schemes of private trade) that they not only distracted matters but also refused to give their assistance, despite of remonstrances. They were not excluded until they had repeatedly refused to help. Nicholas Bix, on the other hand, though one of Sill's assistants, rendered good service. 8. Had the charges made against Cartwright by Willoughby and his Council been deemed by Rastell 'worthy his remove' to England, an order to that effect might have been sent from Surat. He was left at Armagon because the *Star* had already too many seditious passengers. 9. The refusal in this case was partly for want of time, as already stated. Sill's demands included his restoration to his post; and had Willoughby and his associates complied with this it would have overthrown the Company's affairs on that Coast. All the actions of Willoughby and his Council tended to the true prosperity of those affairs, which would have been much advanced had not Rastell, by countenancing the contrary parties and displacing Willoughby and the rest, cut off their good endeavours. 10. They know of no accounts seized out of Sill's hands. The Company's

accounts were taken by consultation from Read, and perfected at Bantam. 11. They deny having refused to show any letters from Surat. Moreover, Willoughby was not (as stated) appointed Agent at Bantam by Rastell, but by the Company before his departure. 12. The removal of Sill and Read was very necessary, and the Company's affairs were not thereby maimed but amended and restored to former liberty. 13. Sufficient authority was shown at Armagon for all their proceedings. Conclude by remarking that although the President and Council of Surat have administered these interrogatories, they were none of them eye-witnesses, and the accusations appear to be based on the accusations of Sill and Read, who were removed for serious offences and thus took their revenge. Urge that the interests of the Company ought to be preferred to those of Read and the rest, who may have recourse unto the laws of England if they have been wronged. Request the President and Council to note that Willoughby is a freeman of the Company, and as such has taken his oath to advance the English East India trade by all reasonable means in his power, which was a special motive for his proceeding against Sill. *Signed by Willoughby, Matthew, and Grove aboard the* James, *December* 15, 1632. *John Barnes, Philip Bearden, and Edward Hall concur in the answers to the first four articles, December* 17, 1632. *Gilbert Gardner subscribes to the answer to the first.* (*Copy.* $6\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT [BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL [1]], DECEMBER 18, 1632 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 171).

Information having been received that the Dutch intend to precede the English to Persia, 'and there to make an overture concerning the buisines about Muscatt, thereby to intercept our designes soe long thought on before', it is decided to prepare the *Charles*, *Jonas*, *Dolphin*, and the pinnace *Intelligence* to sail with them. It is also determined to dispatch the *Swallow* to Bantam, for the purpose of carrying thither four chests of rials to provide a cargo against the arrival of the *Mary*, and of supplying 'their want of small shipping at the southwards'. Mr. Glascock applies

[1] No names are given and the record is unsigned.

for permission to go home on the *Great James*, his time of service having expired; but, as his services as Warehousekeeper cannot be dispensed with during Mr. Wyche's absence, he is desired to wait until the fleet returns from Persia. (1 *p.*)

George Willoughby, aboard the *James* at Swally, to the President and Council at Surat, December 26, 1632 (*O.C.* 1481).

On the 12th they sent him certain accusations and desired to have his answers by the time they next came down. He thereupon requested the return of his papers, but this has not yet been granted. Nevertheless, he has prepared his replies, and now sends them by Captain Weddell, together with a protest[1] which he has thought fitting to address to them. Begs their serious consideration of these documents. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

The Same to Captain John Weddell, December 29, 1632 (*O.C.* 1481).

Inquires whether he has sent or delivered to the President and Council the papers forwarded to him; and, if so, when and by whom received, in order that he may inform the Company. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Captain John Weddell, aboard the *Charles*, to George Willoughby, December 30, 1632 (*O.C.* 1481).

Delivered Willoughby's papers to Mountney on December 28, about seven o'clock in the morning. The Council met two hours later, but Willoughby's business was deferred, as only two Members of Council were present. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Instructions from the President and Council of Surat to John Willoughby, proceeding to Persia, December 30, 1632 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 179).

The chief intent of his dispatch upon the Dutch ships is 'to stopp the reports of anie false aspersions they should cast out against us, as also to give safe deliverie for our advices to our freinds there'.

[1] In this document (*O.C.* 1470), which is signed also by Barnes, Matthew, and Grove, he protests against the delay in trying him and against the detention of his papers. For any losses caused by his removal from his post he holds the President and Council accountable.

On arrival he is to hand over their letters to Mr. Sherland, or to whomever he finds in charge at the port, to be copied and then dispatched to the Agent. (¾ *p.*)

THOMAS CLARK AT MASULIPATAM TO THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI, DECEMBER 31, 1632 (*O.C.* 1482).

Has sent the small 'screatore' [desk] and the half piece of stuff he promised him. Requests in exchange a 'chint' for a quilt, a piece of 'pillow beers', and a dozen tops for caps. If these come to more than four rials, which is the value of the stuff, he will be accountable for the difference. The 'screatore' is a present. Will remind the Agent to send Colley his box, 'and therin Doctor Hall.'[1] (*Seal.* ½ *p.*)

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 4, 1633 (*Abstract only, made in London. O.C.* 1483).

The *Pearl* did not reach Armagon till August 15, 'so belated (as is thought) by seeking of purches [purchase, i.e. prize-taking] by the waie.' Letters sent to the Company by Capt. Quail. 'A lame excuse for their negligent buying of callicoes; and that callicoes are there doble the price they were wont to be.' Sarkhej indigo is at 23 and 25 rupees, and no reduction is to be expected for two or three years; they have therefore bought a greater quantity of Agra indigo. Hope to dispatch the *James* by the middle of January with 100 bales of calicoes ('of old stores, but could not have them bleaked, etc., before'), 1,480 bales of Agra indigo, and 100 bales of cotton yarn, besides the pepper and cloves she brought from Bantam.[2] The fleet from England, the *Mary* and *Exchange* from Masulipatam, and the *James* and *Intelligence* from Bantam all arrived at Surat together from Persia on November 28, having lost many men from October 22. The goods and money consigned for Persia were duly delivered, and in addition three bales of cloth and four chests of rials, 'the better to complie with the King.' The defects in the silk shall be reformed. The 'carga' received by this fleet from London is well conditioned, except the white cloths, which are wholly rotten. Have received the Company's letters of

[1] Probably the satires (then very popular) of Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.
[2] See also the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 171.

March 16 and November 2 [1631], by way of Masulipatam. Have made known their complaints of the silk. The scarcity of Indian commodities prevents them from supplying Persia as they would; most of the coarse goods sent thither last year lie unsold. Intend, however, to furnish the factors with 200 bales of indigo and some fine goods, to help away 280 cloths re-sent them. These cloths were consigned hither, but the Governor refused to buy them on account of their coarseness. No more broadcloth should be sent, as they have enough for two or three years. 'To wyn Muscatt, the Dutch do offer their assistance to the Duke, to do it aloane.' The Governor of Surat is hindering the dispatch of the ships to enforce them to take in freight goods. The invoice of the cargo laden in the *William* for Bantam may be expected by the *James*. Of the factors now arrived Giffard is the only one of ability; the rest are inexperienced. This lack of factors 'doth perplexe us'. George Willoughby blamed. Bantam is left destitute of factors by the removal of so many; intend to send thither some of the least faulty, and to dispatch the rest to England. Their controversy has not yet been heard. Hoare has written 'of great gaine by comodities from hence and thence reciprocally, which indeed hath formerlie bin made but nowe is not'. ['Thancke your private trade for it.'—*Marginal note.*] All European goods are in very small esteem, but they hope time will mend this. Most of last year's and this year's cargoes still unsold. Quicksilver and broadcloth on hand. One hundred cloths landed. 'This Governour promised to buy, but we doubt his performance. He sheweth us the Kings licence unto him to truck with us for indico against cloth, but deferreth untill our ships departure for Persia. We intend not to meddle with him herin, unlesse the Dutch should proffer to take it, for the King is a bad merchant.' Sixty chests of coral belonging to the Second Voyage yet unsold, because of its coarseness; that now sent seems by its price to be finer and of better hope. Have left in the ship 28 chests of the lowest prices, intending to send them with some lead and a chest of rials upon the *Mary* to Masulipatam. All the lead brought by the last fleet is still aboard. That which came in the *Mary* is not yet sold. 'The Governor will not suffer us to sell it to anie but himself.' The *Swallow* intended for Bantam; the *Mary* for Persia, to take in silk there, and returning to embark

what goods are ready at Surat and so proceed to Masulipatam, Bantam, and thence home; the *Exchange* and *Intelligence* for Sumatra, to procure pepper, 'timely to prevent the Dutch.' From that place the pinnace will be dispatched to meet the Europe fleet, with advice to make Persia their first port, the Agent and factors in that country having so advised. Of the remaining ships, two will accompany the *Mary* to Masulipatam to carry freight goods to Persia, of which they are assured of at least 12,000 pagodas; the other two will go to the Islands to join the fleet from England. Deaths in Persia and in the fleet coming from thence. John Willoughby sent to Gombroon upon the Dutch ships to prevent rumours concerning the burning of the two ships. The destruction of the *Charles* and *Swallow*, 'with the circumstances therof.' The 'triall of this wicked accident' takes place to-morrow, and the delinquents will be sent home in irons. The names of those who perished, with lists of the goods lost or recovered, will be sent in the *James*. Capt. Weddell has been made commander of the *Jonas* and her fleet, with Monk as master under him, and Capt. Swanley master of the *Hart*. 'The Earl of Denbie hath bin at Musilpatam and Persia in the *Marie*, and intendes to retorne in the *James*.' (2 *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *JONAS* [AT SWALLY], JANUARY 4, 1633[1] (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 172).

'The miserable disaster which it pleased God to inflict upon the *Charles* and *Swallowe* through fire being the cheife occasion of this assemblie at presente, it was first propounded where to settle Captaine Weddell; and it being conceaved by the generall Councell that the *Jonas* would be the fittest shipp for his recepcion, they therefore (seeing he was cleared by the generall attestacion of all the commanders, masters, etc., from anie negligence or omission in the preservacion of his shipp) thought requisite and so enordred him commander of the said shipp, with the rest of her fleete, and placed Captaine Swanley commander in the *Hart*, Mr. Muncke master in the *Jonas*, and Mr. Jaie master in the *Mary*.' White,

[1] Signed by President Hopkinson, Captain Weddell, John Hatch, and Richard Swanley. The last-mentioned dissents from the first and last clauses.

now master of the *Great James*, is entrusted with the command of her for the homeward voyage, both on account of his satisfactory behaviour hitherto and because no able man can well be spared to undertake that duty.[1] [Anthony] James is appointed his chief mate, and Mr. Bamford next unto him. 'Understanding by divers examinacions that the master of the *Swallow*, his two mates, gunner, and gunner's mate were the cheife occasioners of setting their shipp on fire, and consequently the *Charles*,' it is decided to send them home in the *James*, and all of them (except the master) to remain in irons until their arrival in England. The factory surgeon being dead, [Walter?] Hammond is taken ashore to fill the vacancy. (1 *p.*)

CAPTAIN WEDDELL AND THE OTHER COMMANDERS[2] AT SWALLY TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 7, 1633 (*Abstract only. O.C.* 1456).

Refer to letters entrusted to Capt. Quail. The *James* will be ready to sail for England by January 20. The fleet left Gombroon October 22 and arrived here November 28. Most of the men fell sick. Messrs. Sill and Ross dead; also Fox (master's mate of the *Mary*), and the gunner and surgeon of the *Dolphin*. 'Mr. Carpenter, Mr. Bamham, and Mr. Gombledon, merchants, dead;'[3] and Mr. Sherland and all the rest of the Persia factors sick. Kirkham and Fall have gone up to Ispahān. 'Most of your people dead at Surratt. Joseph Hopkinson, now President, discommended; wholly dissabled. Nathaniel Mountenie joyned with him in authoritie.' Dearth and scarcity of all things; Indian commodities at double their wonted rates, while European goods are much fallen in price, so that the ships will be obliged to carry the broadcloth back again to Persia. 'The *Charles* and *Swallowe* burnt by accident, with all the circumstances.' They saved 7,638 rials of eight from the *Swallow* and hope to recover the rest of her money. The *Charles* sank in deep water; she had cloth and lead in her. Some few men burnt, some drowned, and some hurt. The *Exchange* and *Intelligence* are to go to the west coast of Sumatra, whence the latter

[1] A marginal note (made in London) asks 'Was not Captain Weddell an able man?'

[2] Slade, Swanley, Pynn, Hatch, Monk, Jay, White, and Turner.

[3] This was an error as regards Robert Carpenter. Bamham and Gombledon I cannot trace.

will be dispatched to the Comoros, etc. The *Mary* proceeds with the fleet to Gombroon, and afterwards to Masulipatam and Bantam. The *Jonas*, *Dolphin*, and *Hart* to return to Surat, if not employed about Muskat. 'The Dutch have a brave fleete heere, intended, the one for Europe, one for Persia, one with hir two pinaces alongst the coast Comerine [?]; and all to meete againe at Suratt to attempt Masambique and interceptinge of carricques.' The fleet is in great need of supplies, by reason of many disbursements both to English and Dutch ships. (1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD [AT SURAT] TO EXAMINE THE CHARGES AGAINST GEORGE WILLOUGHBY ETC., JANUARY 10, 1633 (*O.C.* 1484).[1]

Read having delivered in writing the wrongs suffered by Sill and himself, the Council proceed to examine various persons. Gilbert Gardner, master's mate of the *Star*, declares that he accompanied the Agent ashore by command of the master, but knew not to what intent. Edward Hall, another mate of the ship, makes a similar statement. He agreed with the rest regarding the proclamation of Willoughby as Agent; the latter did not produce the Company's letter 'authorizing this Presidency', and on being asked vowed that he knew of none. The usage of Tempest on board the *Star* was settled by Willoughby and the master. Knew of no private trade on board. Philip Bearden, purser of the *Star*, deposes that he had no part in taking the fort at Armagon, being asleep at the time. Consented to the proclamation, as he understood that the Coast was still under Bantam. Sill was chosen manager of the Old Stock's business there by a consultation held on October 30, 1630, but Bearden denies that he signed the same. Confirms the statement that Read delivered to Willoughby in October, 1630, a list of goods procurable at the Coast or Surat and vendible 'at the southwards'. As regards private trade, he knew only of one bale, belonging to Read, worth about 90 or 100 rials. John Barnes, master of the *Star*, being asked as to the surprisal of the fort, answers that he thought it his duty to submit to Willoughby. He knew nothing of the President's authority over the Coast. No consultation was called till after Sill's arrest. Confesses that, Tempest

[1] Another copy will be found in *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. (p. 180).

having given Willoughby 'badd tearmes', he was put in irons and laid upon the forecastle in the rains, but to his knowledge was always well in the ship. '*Mem.* that Mr. Willoughby told Mr. Barnes that as long as he was at the Coast he was to be chiefe, and that at his departure thence it was to be under Suratt; and haveing demanded of Mr. Willowby the commission authorizing President Rastell to be cheife in India, it was answered by him that there was none.' Asked wherein he knew Sill to be faulty, Barnes replies: (1) that a young man of Sill's was sent upon a junk to 'the Bay of Gingelly'; (2) that he gave leave to John Carter to lie up in the country twenty miles upon his own occasions; (3) that he suffered the master of the *Falcon* to remain ashore for a month; (4) that the *Falcon* not carrying away the goods of the *Star* was a hindrance to the Company's business. To these accusations Read replies: (1) that when the *Falcon* went from Masulipatam to 'Gingelee' a boy was sent on her to assist Benjamin Owen in buying rice, etc., because Owen was ignorant both of Portuguese and of the country language; he knows not why the boy remained behind, but it is false that he went upon a junk; (2) Carter was allowed to remain up country certain days to assist Cartwright; (3) Norbury remained ashore partly on account of his health and partly to look after the house, Sill being sick; (4) Sill never refused to lade goods of the Second Voyage on the *Falcon*. Thomas Grove, factor on the *Star*, admits that he concurred in the surprisal of the fort and the deportation of Sill; there was no consultation till after the arrest of the latter; he thought Willoughby had sufficient authority from the Company for acting as he did; he did not see the letter placing the Coast under Rastell. The reasons for arresting Sill were: (1) Read's refusal to permit the money of the Second Voyage to be invested at Armagon jointly with that of the Joint Stock; (2) Sill's private trade at 'Viraacherone'; (3) the 'Great Governor' told Willoughby that there were 60 bales shipped on the *Falcon* between 'Mountipoolee' and Petapoli; (4) for torturing a man to death; (5) for sending 1,000 rials and 190 rials' weight of gold to 'Gingelee' to buy rice. Thereupon Read rejoins that (1) he furthered, instead of hindering, the said investment; (2) the goods bought at Vīravāsaram were for the Company's account and not for private trade; (3) he doubts the truth of the story, but in any

case will take oath that the bales were neither his nor Sill's ; (4) it is true that a man was tortured at Masulipatam, but this was only to make him confess who stole the Company's pepper, and his death was due to his having eaten opium the night before, fearing to be punished ; moreover, the matter was satisfactorily settled by a payment of 200 pagodas to the Governor ; (5) Sill did adventure to 'Gingelee', but this was not in a Company's ship nor in any commodity which could forestall their markets, for the return was to come in rice to be sold at Armagon to the poor people, distressed by the great famine. William Matthew, being examined, declares that he thought the Company's letter sufficient authority for Willoughby's proceedings ; that he saw a copy of their letter regarding Rastell, but it was not signed ; that he could not say whether notice was given to Sill of the intention to send the letters of November 2, 1630 ; that lists of goods to be provided were delivered by Read to Willoughby ; that Sill had wronged the Company by torturing a man to death and by his private trade at 'Gingelee' ; that there were 78 bales of goods laden on the *Dove*, though he knows not whose they were ; and that the Company were damnified through the beating of the washers by the Governor at Petapoli. To these charges Read replies that Matthew ought to have given notice to Sill of the private trade on the *Dove* ; he himself had no hand therein, and Sill to his knowledge sent upon the *Dolphin* [*Falcon* ?] and *Dove* but nine rials of eight ; that the beating of the washers was no hindrance to the dispatch of the *Star*, as was proved at Bantam. George Willoughby, being asked by what authority he carried away Sill, replies that he did it as Agent and Chief at Bantam ; he did not proceed legally against him, because he had no time ; he admits that he saw the clause in the Company's letter about Rastell, but their hands were not unto it, and knowing Sill's bad carriage and exorbitancy of private trade he proceeded against him. His accusations against Sill are : (1) that he tortured a man to death, which might have proved prejudicial to the Company ; (2) that he would have surprised the country junks, but this was prevented by his removal ; (3) that, finding 100 pagodas owing to the Company, he stopped it out of the customs ; whereupon the washers were beaten, thus delaying the *Star* for twenty days ; (4) that the private trade in the *Falcon* caused great trouble with

the Governor about the customs; (5) that Sill carried on private trade with 'Gingelee'; (6) that he took with him from Bantam to the Coast two 'leagers' of silk and 90 rials' weight of gold belonging to a Dutchman named Vesterman, and returned the proceeds on the *Falcon* and *Dove*; (7) that Read and Cartwright contracted with the Governor of Armagon for 200 men to repossess Sill of the castle, and that Sill in the night was to come ashore 'upon a gingada' [*see the* 1618–21 *volume*, p. 266]; in support of which Willoughby produces Gilbert Gardner, but the latter denies knowing anything more than that Lieut. Smith told him that Sill was to come ashore that night, but on speaking to Sill he found him very unwilling; (8) that Sill conveyed a letter to Bantam, stirring up Hoare to withstand Willoughby. To all this Read answers that the first charge is already cleared; that the second is untrue, and moreover, Sill had no shipping to effect any such seizure; that the demand for the 100 pagodas was justified, and the beating of the washers did not affect the movements of the *Star*; that if Willoughby knew of any private trade in the *Falcon* he should have spoken to Sill about it; that the venture to 'Gingelee' has been explained already; that it is true that Sill brought goods belonging to Vesterman, but it was with the consent of the Bantam factors, and the goods were delivered to 'Signor Barnes',[1] the Dutch chief factor at Masulipatam; that the charge of plotting to retake the fort has been refuted by Gardner's testimony; it is true the Governor offered Read the services of 300 men for that purpose, but he saw that any such attempt would be an evil precedent, and so he refused, saying that it was impossible for a thousand men to regain the castle; that, finally, Sill's letter to Bantam is extant and contains no such matter as is pretended. (8½ *pp.*)

Consultation held at Surat by [the President and Council], January 12, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 192).

After much discussion it is resolved to accept an offer from Vīrjī Vōra for 12,000 'tolaes'[2] of gold brought by the last fleet, at the rate of 21½ mahmūdīs apiece for the Dutch riders and 20 mahmūdīs

[1] This seems to be an error for 'Isbrandsz.'

[2] 'A toule of gould is 7 dwt. and 16 graines' (*marginal note, made in London*).

for the 20*s.* pieces, the money to be paid in a month and a half, either in mahmūdīs or rupees (but if in the latter, he may discount thirteen mahmūdīs per hundred rupees, 'according to difference at presente betweene the rupees and m[ahmūdī]s'). The proceeds are to be used in the discharge of debt. A quantity of sandalwood belonging to the Second Joint Stock is sold for 24 mahmūdīs per maund at two months time of payment. John Hunter is permitted to embark in the *James* for England, there being no employment for him here. Willoughby and Matthew are to be paid their thirds of salary for one year. (1½ *pp.*)

NOTE OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM MR. CARTWRIGHT[1] [TO THOMAS COLLEY ?], JANUARY 12, 1633 (*O.C.* 1485).

To be very importunate with the merchants to bring in their cloth, and to procure what he can at reasonable prices, for which purpose he has gold and coin to the value of 1,100 pagodas. On the first opportunity he is to dispatch 'Naga' to purchase cloth. 'To keepe fayre correspondence [with] these Moores, espetially men of fashion.' To cause any cloth purchased to be 'cured' with expedition. To finish the building now in hand, as also a house for the washers; then to pull down and rebuild the cookroom. As the Governor is so near a neighbour, having 'the view of our court and house, next to which is our gate', a door is to be made on the other side of the building, in order that the merchants and 'committis' may repair to them without being seen by him. Also to rail in the garden in the great court, and put a small dove-house therein. If he can take up more money at the former rates, he is not to refuse it. He is to trim up his own chamber and amend what is amiss in other parts of the house. (1 *p.*)

THOMAS COLLEY [AT PETAPOLI] TO [THE AGENT AND FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM], JANUARY 14, 1633 (*O.C.* 1482).

Since Cartwright's departure by boat yesterday for Masulipatam, the enclosed letters have arrived from Armagon. He has perused and now dispeeds them. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] 'Att his departure hence [Petapoli ?] for Mesulapatam.'

CONSULTATION HELD AT SURAT BY [THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL], JANUARY 14, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 193).

Read is appointed chief for the voyage of the *Exchange* to the west coast of Sumatra, with William Matthew as second, Thomas Barlow as third, and Robert Jenny as fourth. (1 *p.*)

A SIMILAR CONSULTATION, JANUARY 15, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 194).

The late President (Rastell) having sent for Willoughby and his adherents, 'and the President and Councell receiving full power by the Companies letter per the *Pearle* for the examining and censuring of their accions,' it has been found, upon hearing the cause, that 'the said Mr. Willoughbie rather out of meere malice then anie important cause removed the said Mr. Sill, etc., to their irreparable wrong and the great distraccion of the Companies buisines there'. It is accordingly resolved to send him home for punishment by the Company. Barnes and Matthew are considered to have been led away by Willoughby; the former is therefore allowed to act as second in council to White during the homeward voyage of the *James* (and to succeed him in the event of his decease); while the latter is sent to the southwards, in compliance with an application from the Bantam factors. Grove and Bearden are not deemed sufficiently culpable to deserve punishment; and, as their services are not needed here, they are allowed to proceed to England. Hall and Gardner are acquitted, and appointed master's mates in the *James* and *Mary* respectively. Benjamin Robinson, late purser of the *Swallow*, is advanced 200 'mamoothoes' and ordered ashore to assist in the factory. Two months' pay imprested to Michael Young, late boatswain of the *Charles*. (2 *pp.*)

CHARGES PREFERRED BY WILLOUGHBY AGAINST SILL AND READ, JANUARY 15, 1633 (*O.C.* 1486).

1. Their harbouring of private trade from Bantam for sundry Dutch and Englishmen. 2. Sill's planting private trade at Armagon by contracting with the Governor, 'Raga Chetty,' to engross that inland trade by coasting voyages to 'Gingelly, Pegu, Raccan,

and Tenasserie'; in part performance of which he sent to Gingelly, to help in providing three junks for that trade, to the value of 3,600 rials. Read was privy to this and was supposed to be a partner. These junks were to be employed from Armagon to the said ports with 'paintings', etc., to the Company's great damage. The Governor of Armagon acknowledged this adventure of Sill's, and promised to deliver the proceeds to Hunter for the Company. 3. Their refusing to acknowledge the authority of Willoughby. 4. Their torturing to death of a 'freeman' of Masulipatam, 'which cruell act much estranged the people from familliar tradeing with the English,' and 'was very likely to have utterly overthrowne the whole investment and the there estate of the said Company', had not Willoughby pacified the matter with a small sum of money. 5. Sill many times avowed to Willoughby his intention of taking the Masulipatam junks when an opportunity occurred, and for this purpose had provided a great boat to make a sloop or frigate. Such a course would have meant the extirpation of the Company's trade in Golconda; but Sill and his associates would have benefited, as (besides the value of the prizes) one half of the Company's annual stock would have sufficed for the investment at Armagon, and the rest would have been available for his private trade. 6. Their wilful neglect to assist in the investment of the stock sent in the *Star* for the Second General Voyage. 7. Their hindering the investment at Vīravāsaram by privately buying up the cloth which Hunter and Grove had agreed for on behalf of that Voyage. 8. Their obstructing the investment at Petapoli by their quarrel with the Governor. 9. 'Sills profferring to raise and build up a point at Armagon, against the advice and consent of the Governour and rest of the Companies frends, wherby very great trouble was likely to have followed, for, on a greater Governours notice therof, the worke was staied, the Governour of Armagon much blamed for suffering its forwardness, and a nobleman sent downe to punish that presumption (as they termed it), being the then King had not ratified the Companies priviledges there; but, one day before the said nobleman arived there, Henry Sill was removed and on board the *Starre*, which tooke away the edge of their anger, and with a small present was the said nobleman pacified and the said point not razed, nor yett then admitted to be finished, but

promised with the consent of the said great Governour to admitt of its finishing afterwards.' 10. Read's refusal to deliver the Company's accounts to Willoughby at Armagon. 11. His repeated denial of assistance there. 12. His mutinous plot to re-establish Sill at Armagon with the aid of the natives. 13. His concealment of Sill's contract for private trade. For the above-mentioned faults Sill and Read were adjudged by consultation to be removed from their posts and carried to Bantam, where Willoughby expected to receive instructions for their trial from the President and Council of Surat, to whom he had sent full particulars; instead of which he himself was displaced and ordered to Surat in the *James*. In place of Sill and Read were left two abler men, Hunter and Bix, who were also displaced by the President and Council. *Signed by Willoughby, and also (March 26, 1633) by Hunter. Willoughby then resumes.* Sill and Read further endeavoured to stir up Hoare to withhold the post of Agent from Willoughby. The latter affirms that his actions throughout have been dictated by zeal for the Company's interests, and that he has derived no private benefit from them. The fact that the President and Council took part against him has made others afraid to stand by him; while the want of his writings has prevented him from producing exact proof of everything alleged. Read, though second to Sill, was the principal actor in most of the faults committed, owing to Sill's constant sickness. They kept all the business of the Joint Stock secret from Willoughby to the injury of the Company. Read ought not to be admitted as a witness on Sill's behalf, seeing that he is himself accused. The writings he has produced were probably concocted at Bantam, where Skibbow allowed him to see all Willoughby's letters to Surat and other papers. Willoughby and his associates had no such favour, but on the contrary had all the injury and cruel usage that could be inflicted on them. (*Copy.* 6½ *pp.*)

THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI TO [THE AGENT AND FACTORS AT MASULIPATAM], JANUARY 22, 1633 (*O.C.* 1485).

Yesterday dispatched their sloop down the river for Masulipatam; trusts she has arrived ere this. Now transmits some letters received this day from Armagon. The Governor here has notified that he

will send 30 or 40 bales with 15 or 16 persons to Persia this year on their shipping, and says his freight shall exceed others; awaits instructions. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

CHRISTOPHER READ AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 23, 1633 (*O.C.* 1487).

Thinks it right that he should inform them of what he knows concerning the differences between Willoughby and Sill. Rastell, on his arrival in India 'with power to be sole President of the Southwards as well as of the Northwards', notified the factors on the Coast that they were henceforward to be dependent on Surat. 'At the same tyme Your Worships haveinge appointed Mr. Willoughbie to be Agent of the southern factories and not accquainting him in your letter that your pleasure was to subject Bantam and the dependinge factories to the Presidencie of Surat, he sought, in regard he was appointed Agent of Bantam, to have preheminence over your factors on Coast Cormandell, notwithstanding he had seene the Presidents letter, with the clause of his commission to the contrary.' Upon this dispute a consultation was called, at which it was decided that the factors previously on the Coast should control the affairs of the Old Stock, while Willoughby should look after those of the Second General Voyage. This was resented by Willoughby, who thereupon invented many scandalous reports against Sill and the other factors, and wrote an 'invictive' letter privately to Surat on November 2, without acquainting Sill and the rest, who were keeping back their letters and papers to go with his. Dissembling his intentions till he reached Armagon, he there, with the assistance of the master and crew of the *Star*, treacherously entered the fort and seized Sill and Read, carrying the one on board the ship and confining the other to his chamber. These measures could not be resisted without hazarding the lives of the Company's servants, and Sill himself desired all men to be quiet, saying that he had done nothing prejudicial to the Company and therefore doubted not to have due satisfaction. Next Willoughby and his associates forcibly took out of Read's chamber the accounts of the Joint Stock, and disposed of the remains and debts as they pleased, favouring the Second General Voyage at the expense of the Joint Stock, while the merchants bringing in cloth

for the latter complained that Willoughby and the rest were too busy with their writings to examine the cloth. Willoughby proclaimed himself commander of the Coast by virtue of his post as Agent at Bantam; and at a consultation demanded whether they might not seize Sill's estate as well as his person; to which Read replied that they certainly might, and might take away his life as well, if their authority extended so far. 'By these their strange proceedings your affaires have bine much distracted and your factories, as well upon Coast Cormandell, Bantam, and the subordinates, deprived of able men. The Dutch they rejoyce to see thos distraccions. The countrey people stand amazed, not knowing what side to take. And I praie God our enimies the Portugalls by this example attempt not that which they have longe desired but durst never bifore put in practice.' Willoughby did not produce any witnesses in the examination held at Surat; and Read declares that his charges against Sill are false, and prompted merely by pride and malice. As, however, the latter is dead, the writer thinks it well to lay open the truth as regards some of the more intricate matters. The goods bought at 'Veravasram' were intended for the Company, as was proved at Bantam. Possibly Sill told Willoughby that the investment for the Joint Stock had been completed before that; but money afterwards became available and was employed in the manner stated. As regards the private trade of the Hollander Vesterman, these goods were carried to Masulipatam by order of the President at Bantam, and they were made over to the Dutch chief at the former place. Sill's adventure to 'Gingelee' was ordered to be returned in rice and other grain. 'Mesulapatam and Armagon was sorely opprest with famine, the liveinge eating up the dead, and men durst scarsly travell in the countrey for feare they should be kild and eaten. Mr. Sill intended to releeve no place but Armagon. The poore people there, as weavers, painters, and dyers, would have all fleed but for expectacion thereof and of other junckes which shuld com in company with that of Mr. Sills and under its proteccion; wherby that place would have bene dispopulated, to your (I am sure) great prejudice.' It would be absurd to pretend that Sill expected no profit from this venture; but it is false that he intended to forestall the Company's markets at Armagon by buying up cloth for a venture to Pegu and

those parts. Such a voyage could not take less than twenty months, while Sill had decided to leave the Coast by the next ships from England, as he was weary of India and his body was worn out with his thirteen years' service; and moreover, by the death of his father there had fallen to him land worth 250*l.* per annum. He would never have undertaken that fatal employment on the Coast had he not been urgently persuaded thereto by Muschamp and Hoare, together with his own desire to do the Company good service by restoring that trade to its former level. The keeping of two houses in Masulipatam was no small hindrance to the Company's affairs, for (besides the double charge of housekeeping) 'men would goe from house to house with their cloth to se who would give most'. But for Read's remonstrances, this wasteful system would have been followed at Armagon; 'only there we had such power that the countrey people durst doe no such thing without our consent.' The torturing of the house porter at Masulipatam was neither prejudicial nor chargeable to the Company, for Sill himself sent nearly 100*l.* to the Governor to settle the matter. That Sill intended to use hostilities against the Masulipatam junks is false; there was no ship on the Coast to carry out such a plan, and no provocation had been given. It is true that on one occasion, when they were refused permission to lade goods at Petapoli, Sill consulted Willoughby as to the advisability of obtaining satisfaction by such means; but the licence to ship the goods was obtained and so there was no need for any action of this kind. Matthew and Willoughby have alleged that private goods were shipped on the *Dove* and *Falcon*; if they knew of this, it was their duty to reveal the facts to Sill, who was ignorant thereof. Willoughby charged Read with plotting to rescue Sill, but his own witness declared that he knew of no such matter. By these and the like aspersions upon honest men Willoughby seeks to gild over his unjust actions and to persuade men that all was out of integrity to the Company, 'when the ground proceeded from only pride and malice.' No accusation against Sill will be found in any of his letters until he knew of his own appointment to Bantam, which led him to aspire to control over the Coast factories. Many have suspected that, had he succeeded, he would have advanced the interests of the Second General Voyage at the expense of the Joint Stock. This may be

due to his being an adventurer in the former. In his discourse he often would wish the Joint Stock's estate sunk in the sea; and when the *Falcon* nearly drove ashore at Masulipatam he refused to spare her an anchor and cable, which were afterwards supplied to her by a Dutch ship. Desires the Company to note that he is ready to confirm by oath everything that he has written. His covenanted time having expired, he had intended to return to England on the *James*; but the President and Council have persuaded him to go to Sumatra and Bantam on the *Exchange*. Fears they will hardly procure a cargo by the time expected, owing to the small quantity and bad condition of their calicoes, which could not be remedied on account of the scarcity and dearness of such cloth. Desires the Company to augment his wages or permit him to return to England. (8 *pp.*)

ROGER GIFFARD AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 23, 1633 (*O.C.* 1488).

Wrote last from 'the Baye of Augustine'. They had a good passage from thence; but their going first to Gombroon proved unhealthful for their people, and on the voyage from thence to this place many fell sick and some died, including Seager, who deceased a few days after their arrival at Gombroon; then Sill died on board the *James*, and next Thomas Ross, who was to go with them to Surat. Giffard and his brother[1] were also visited with sickness. Attributes this to the heats and calms of those parts at that season and the bad water; but does not infer that the voyage is to be desisted from at that time of year if there be good occasion for it. The fleet anchored at Swally on November 28, and found three Dutch ships there. Next day came down President Hopkinson, with Messrs. Mountney, Wyche, Joyce, and others, 'to our great rejoycinge, as finding so manye able men lyvinge in this factorie. But for the President, he was then yll and weake, and so hath ever since continued, not beinge able to doe anye great matter of buisines, either in writinge or otherwise, by reason of the sorenes of his eyes and indisposition of bodie, which I understand hath beene longe uppon him.' This has caused Hopkinson to be backward in his accounts, so that they cannot send any by this ship;

[1] Really his brother-in-law, Bell Potter.

but they hope to do so by the *Mary*. For the disposal of the ships, with the disaster to the *Charles* and *Swallow*, he refers to the general letter. ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Received by the* James, *August* 25, 1633.)

COMMISSION FROM 'THE PRESIDENT AND COUNSELL OF INDIA, PERSIA, ETC.', TO CAPTAIN WEDDELL FOR HIS VOYAGE TO PERSIA, JANUARY 24, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 196).

Weddell's commission from the Company having been burnt in the *Charles*, he is now reinvested with the title of Chief Commander of the fleet, consisting of four vessels, viz. the *Jonas* (800 tons), [Richard] Monk master; the *Mary* (800), Captain James Slade commander; the *Hart* (600), Richard Swanley master; and the *Dolphin* (600), John Hatch master. He is also granted the usual powers of control and punishment. He is instructed to proceed in company with the Dutch to Gombroon; and on arriving there, if he finds the Persians ready to make an attack on Muskat, he is to join with the Agent, etc., in negotiating as to the terms on which the English will assist. Should the offers made be satisfactory, he is authorized to embrace that design. 'To prevent the aspersions of unjust severity in punishing delinquents, we do prohibite all extraordinary castigations, as bilbouizeing, capsteyning, ducking, or the like, to be inflicted on any man whatsoever, unlesse by generall consent of Counsell convocated to consult theron; and then both cryme and punishment to be recorded and testified under your firmes [i.e. signatures] for manifestacion of upright proceeding.' The wasting of powder by firing salutes is forbidden; any loss occasioned thereby will be recovered out of the wages of Weddell and the masters. Sailors are not to be advanced more than one-third of their wages, and any purser infringing this rule will be called upon to make good overpayments of this kind. Private trade is absolutely forbidden; also the passing of outsiders' goods through the customs as English. 'To conserve the auncient union betweene the English and Dutch Companie,' he is to relieve any vessel of the latter found to be in need, taking a receipt for whatsoever is supplied, with a stipulation that restitution is to be made at Surat and not in Holland. Complaints having been made that bales belonging to native passengers have been ripped open and the contents purloined, any such losses in future shall be made good out of the wages of

the whole ship's company, failing the detection of the actual offender. Vouchers must be taken for all provisions delivered to a ship. He is authorized to capture Portuguese vessels; but 'for Mallabars and such pore traders in [i.e. to] this Kings ports, yow shall not offer them any violence but let them peaceably passe, more dishonour and clamours being produced by such petty purchases [i.e. seizures] then tenfold their valew. In case of surprizall we assure ourselves your care will not be wanting to defend from the generallity our imployers estate; and let the pursers take notice that we shall expect from them a just accompt of all treasure or merchandise, with the invoice, bills of ladeing, as all other writeings found in any vessell so arrested.' (3½ *pp.*)

Commission from the President and Council to John White for the Homeward Voyage of the *James*, January 25, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 200).

He is appointed sole commander and master of the *Royal James*, of 1,000 tons, with the usual powers of control and punishment; but no malefactor is to be put to death unless this is judged unavoidable, but to be carried home for trial. In the event of White's death, John Barnes is to take command; and should he die, Richard Bamford is to succeed. No unusual punishment, such as ducking, etc., is to be inflicted without warrant of consultation, duly recorded. Advances to sailors are not to exceed one-third of their wages. No waste of powder and shot to be permitted. Private trade prohibited. Dutch ships to be relieved if necessary, due receipts being taken. Authority given to capture Portuguese vessels. A council appointed, consisting of White himself, Willoughby, Hunter, Barnes, Grove, Barrie, Bamford, Edward Hall, Francis Preston, and George Bagshaw, White having a casting vote if necessary. The early arrival of the ship in England being very desirable, he is to touch only at Mauritius and St. Helena. On nearing the English coast he is to be on his guard against attack, and to make first for the Downs, from whence he is to advise the Company of his arrival. (2¾ *pp.*)

A SIMILAR COMMISSION TO CAPTAIN HUMPHREY PYNN, JANUARY 25, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 202).

Having last year, under instructions from the Company, 'experienced' the trade on the west coast of Sumatra by the *Speedwell* with satisfactory results, they have decided to continue that commerce by sending the *Exchange* thither with a stock of goods and money to be bartered for pepper. The ports to be visited will be selected by Read and the other merchants. Having obtained a cargo, he is to proceed to Bantam, after dispatching the *Intelligence* (not later than July 1) to meet the fleet from England and deliver to them the accompanying letters. At Bantam he will receive further instructions from the Agent there. The merchants are to be treated with love and respect. Pynn is to direct all sea affairs, and is given the power of punishing offences (except as regards the merchants). A council is appointed, consisting of the captain, merchants, master, purser, and master's mates. Portuguese ships may be chased and taken. Should Pynn die, the master, [Peter] Andrews, is to take command. *PS.*—He is to supply a guard for the Company's goods at every port, and to place his boats at the merchants' disposal for lading, etc. (2 *pp.*)

A SIMILAR COMMISSION TO JOHN BURLEY, MASTER OF THE *INTELLIGENCE*, JANUARY 25, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 204).

He is sent to assist the *Exchange* in securing a lading on the west coast of Sumatra, and thereafter to proceed to Madagascar and the Comoro Islands to meet the fleet from England and deliver the President and Council's letter to the commander. Should he fail to find them, the letter may be left at Johanna, while he proceeds to Jask, where he is to await information from Gombroon whether it is safe to proceed to that port. If he meets the outcoming fleet, he is to place himself under the orders of the commander until he rejoins Captain Weddell. He is authorized to punish offenders. In cases of doubt, a council is to be called of all the officers of the ship. He is not to chase Portuguese vessels, his own being too weak for that purpose. Should he die, his mate is to take charge. (1¼ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *JONAS* [AT SWALLY], JANUARY 25, 1633[1] (*Factory Records, Surat,* vol. i. p. 174).

Four men belonging to the *Exchange*, convicted of robbing Indians on the highway, are sentenced to be whipped 'in the open bazar', thereby to give satisfaction to the people of this country and to deter others from the like offence. Divers pursers and boatswains are examined by the Council, but they all deny knowledge of any private trade. An advance of pay is to be made to certain sailors of the *Charles* and *Swallow*, to enable them to purchase apparel, bedding, and other necessaries. Four men, who were sentries ashore when the Company's bales were cut open, are fined two months' pay. There being a superfluity of men in the fleet, owing to the late disaster, it is resolved to take twenty ashore to act as guards for convoys. (1¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT HOPKINSON AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 25, 1633 (*Abstract only. O.C.* 1428).

Burning of the *Swallow* and the *Charles*, which has caused an alteration in the disposal of the ships. Should the *Mary* be unable to procure sufficient lading to go home from Surat, she will be sent, with the *Dolphin*, to Masulipatam and Bantam. Goods carried from this place to Persia may be turned into ready money and brought away freely. Cannot avoid the transporting of Moors' and Banyans' goods to Persia, but will endeavour to increase the Company's investment. Will forbear the stealing of customs on money and goods hereafter. Will leave no cash in the hands of the 'shroffes' longer than is necessary. Will in future keep their accounts in rupees, 'though it wilbe difficult.' 'The President shall followe your order in doing or writing nothing without the consent of his Councell; and all prime factors in all other factories the like.' Chirurgery needed for Surat. Will advise the Persia factors to invest four or five thousand rials in pearls, but doubt whether the necessary quantity can be obtained; are sending [Philip?] Wylde thither about the choice of them. The 30*l.*

[1] The only signature appended is that of Captain Weddell, and the date is given as January 23. The consultation is, however, again entered (by error) at p. 206 of the same volume, under what appears to be the correct date, and with the names of Hopkinson, Mountney, Giffard, and Joyce attached.

advanced by the Company to Giffard will be recovered here. Anything due to Gregory Clement from Predys shall be brought to the Company's account as soon as the papers of Skibbow (who was Predys's overseer) have been perused. There is no hope of recovering the money due from Jādū, who is very poor. Will endeavour to prevent the cutting open of bales of calico; the carters carrying them between Surat and Persia [*sic*] without supervision are the pilferers. 'Paintings' shall be procured against next year for the King, but the white cloth sent hither for that purpose is wholly rotten. Have warned 'theis people' of the intent of the French to rob in the Red Sea.[1] Will as far as possible dispeed the ships at the best season from hence. The President's sickness has hindered the completion of their accounts; he desires their favourable censure until the return of the *Mary*.[2] The money for Crane's tapestry is not yet received, through the fault of John Willoughby, who has now been sent to Persia. Seven Dutch ships here, 'to go upon some exployte.' The cause of the firing of the two ships. The shells required by Captain Crispe are not to be had here, but in 'Patania' [Patna]; they are brought thither from the 'Maldeevas'.[3] Clement Dunscomb, secretary, thanks the Company for increasing his wages. John Spiller commended; have fixed his salary at 20*l.* per annum for the first three years, with an increment of ten pounds for each of the next two; desire the Company's confirmation of this. 'We have endevored our utmost to suppresse private trade, and have made actes against the same; but your purssers and seamen in Capt. Weddells fleete are exorbitant, whereby the prices of all Europe comodities are much debased.' Quicksilver has thus been reduced to 2¼ mahmūdīs per seer. George Gosnoll having brought 60 barrels of that commodity, they sent to seize it, 'but missed of it; wherby you maie see howe readie we have

[1] The Viceroy of Goa, in a letter to King Philip dated Feb. 3, 1633 (N.S.), mentioned three French ships as having been in the 'Straits of Mecca' (*Lisbon Transcripts: Doc. Remett.*, bk. 30, f. 263).

[2] A marginal note made in London points out that the copies of the journals might have been sent, especially those of Persia, which had been forwarded to Surat two years before.

[3] Cowries are no doubt intended (see p. 287). Crispe was engaged in the Guinea trade, for which they would be very useful. Nicholas Ufflett who was with Hawkins) says 'for your pice in Agra [you may have] 30 caures, a kinde of fish shell come out of Bengala' (*Factory Records*, *Miscell.*, vol. xxv).

bin to suppresse private trade.' [1] The pursers and boatswains were questioned, but denied all knowledge. Have also made acts against the fathering of Moors' and Banyans' goods. Some Banyans here claim certain bales of calicoes left in Bantam by the *James*, stating that they were carried thither by Morton and Skibbow on their account. Will inform the Company of any further demands. John Hunter has been permitted to go home, as they have no use for his services; part of his wages should be detained until he clears up some errors in his Armagon account. Have entreated Read to remain, in regard to his abilities, recommended to them by the Agent in Bantam; he refers himself to the Company for an increased salary. Have returned to Willoughby 170 rials taken from him by Skibbow. Sill's diamonds (reported to be missing) are acknowledged to be in Read's possession.[2] Forward certain jewels and stones belonging to Rastell. Captain Morton owes 50*l.* to Rastell's account; the former's estate here will not satisfy that demand, and therefore the deduction should be made at home. 'Capt. Weddall hath well performed his indevours; he is made Generall over all your shipping heere, seated in the *Jonas*.' The master and officers of the *Swallow* sent home in irons. Intend to dispatch shipping to Masulipatam to carry freight to Persia. Have examined the difference between Willoughby and Sill, etc. Read has cleared himself of most part of the accusations. Condemn Willoughby for removing the factors. All referred to the Company's censure. Read and Matthew employed in the *Exchange* for Sumatra, the Agent at Bantam having recommended this voyage. Read has done nothing worthy his former sufferings, while Matthew was merely misled. Grove and 'Berdall' [Bearden ?] returned for lack of employment and their 'disabilityes'. Quip has received and laid out for the Company certain moneys of Willoughby's. The latter's papers have been returned to him. Skibbow, while President, took up much money at interest in the Company's name for his own use, and his estate is much indebted here in consequence; the Company should detain all moneys due to him in their hands,

[1] 'Oh notable symulacion! Could you not have seized Gosnall, and inforced him to bring them out?' (*marginal note*).

[2] 'Whie not taken from him unto the Companies account and sent home?' (*marginal query*).

and should also stop payment of certain remittances made by him through the pursers' books. Forward an inventory of cash received as the proceeds of Ross's estate; the Company may pay the amount at any rate they please, after deducting freight, because the money was obtained by bringing unlicensed goods. Four carpets sent home for Sir John Wolstenholme, and one for Mr. Bell[1]; Capt. Morton ordered the investment, but they know not whether he was paid for them. Thomas Joyce desires the augmentation of his salary, which is now only 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John Drake makes the same request, his wages being only 20*l.* Two months' pay advanced to the sailors who lost their apparel by the burning of the *Swallow* and the *Charles*; this is referred to the Company for allowance or disallowance. 'The Lord of Denbigh hath satisfied us here for his owne and attendents diet to 5 January; for the future you are to receive there.' The Governor of Surat desires six very fine broadcloths, viz. three white of 40*l.* apiece, and three of 20*l.* (2 *pp.*)

JOHN NORRIS, RALPH CARTWRIGHT, AND THOMAS CLARK AT MASULIPATAM TO THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI, JANUARY 25, 1633 (*O.C.* 1489).

Have received his letters of the 14th, 21st, and 22nd. The boat is arrived some two miles hence up the river. Sent yesterday to him, under convoy of Richard Fitch, 2,000 pagodas, of which 1,600 were new (to be accounted at 12 fanams) and the rest old. This money has cost dear, viz. two per cent. per month, and he must therefore make the better use of it. He knows the sorts of cloth best befitting Europe, for which the present investment is intended. Fitch is to help him herein. Would be glad to understand of the forwardness of the merchants in bringing in their cloth. 'Anantoes' time is nearly expired, and their washers want employment; he should therefore be solicited daily, 'for theise people are very slacke in performance, and must be often called upon.' The Company's money must not be allowed to lie dead; he should send people into the country to invest it, advising Masulipatam of what

[1] This is the beautiful Persian carpet now in the possession of the Girdlers' Company. For its history see the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1905, and *Relics of the Hon. E. India Company*, recently published by Mr. Quaritch.

store may be procured and what funds will be necessary, in order that they may not borrow more than is required, seeing that the interest is so high. The Governor of Petapoli, with his goods, will be welcome when their ships arrive; but they do not expect any for three months longer, and so he may take his time, as they have advised him in a letter herewith. He promised to see that 'Carnam Vincota[1]' discharged his debt, but this is not yet performed; Colley should be earnest with him about it. 'Good dungarees [Hind. *dungri*, a coarse kind of cloth] of $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 patch [*see* p. 242] per pagoda' are much wanted here; so he should send 100 patch by the first opportunity. (1 *p*. *Received January* 26.)

John Weddell, James Slade, Richard Swanley, John Hatch, and Richard Monk, aboard the *Jonas* at Swally,[2] to the Company, January 27, 1633 (*O.C.* 1492).

Enclose copy of their last, sent by the *Amboina*. 'Our goeing first to Persia fell out, though un[health]full to ourselves, yet otherwise advantagious to our voyage and your affaires; for the Dutch which lay then at Gum[broon] were thither sent of purpose to proffer the Duke their assist[ance] for his designe of taking in Muskatt; and so [far?] they had wrought themselves into his favour that, had [not your] shipps arrived in the nicke, they had gained the silk [which] the King, at the request of the Cawne, had provided for [us]. Mr. Rastell had formerly sent Captain Slade with ins[tructions] to the Agent there to discusse the weight of this b[usiness] together with the Sea Councell, and then it was in a co[nsultation] thought fitt and necessarie that the English for many reas[ons] (if it were possible) should reassume that imployment from [the] Dutch, as well for the benefitt and priviledges mighte accrue to ourselves in tradeing with the Persian, the better secu[rity] of our shipps in tyme to come, and your reputacions in these [parts], together with the honour of our nation, being thereto bound b[y] articles and a league of amity betwixt them and us to [ ] and aid one thother; as also to prevent the mischeifes that m[ight] arise by so bad a neighbour as the Dutch, of whom [we

[1] The *karnam* (village accountant) Venkata.

[2] 'All under sayle without the barre,' according to the endorsement. An abstract of this letter forms part of *O.C.* 1456.

have] had so large and deere experience. Wheresoever they [get footing] we loose ground. Itt is too well knowne and fe[lt here?], for what by oblique insinuacions and clandestyne practizes they have weakned and in a manner ruyned the creditt of [the] English with the Governour, from whom they suffer daily [wrongs?] and affronts in their goods and persons, themselves enjoyeing what immunityes and liberties they please; neither is [our ?] factorie free from perticular injuries and affronts of the Dutch. To prevent the like ensueing harmes, it is heere resolved by consultacion that wee should hasten with all conveniente speed to Persia and undertake this service for the Duke, in case hee should presse it on us and be readie with his forces, notwithstanding the losse of our two shipps. Yet wee conceive some doubte of the attempting it this yeare in another respect, for wee received intelligence by the *Amboyna* from Mr. Kirkham that the Dukes preparacions went but slowly on, and therefore there would be no necessity in overhasting our returne; and wee heard since by another Dutch shipp, in a letter of Mr. Barlowes (a gentleman attendant on the Earle of Denbigh, and left at Gummoroone), wherein hee certifyes that the King in person hath converted all the forces of the Duke against the Georgians, who have made divers inrodes into his countrey, defeated his armie, and in it tooke prisoner the Duke of Serash [Shirāz] his brother.' If it is found, on reaching Gombroon, that the fleet is not wanted for the siege of Muskat, its next destination will be Masulipatam, to take in freight goods (of which Norris writes that he has already agreed for 7,000*l.* worth) and then return to Persia. They will probably make their rendezvous at Jask or Gombroon in September or the beginning of October. They have spared Lord Denbigh (who goes home in the *James*) two butts of sack, for which he is to make double satisfaction in England. They will have great need of bread, flesh, wine, sailcloth, etc. Have hardly provisions enough for their men, and can get but little here. On the voyage out they salted some of the beef obtained at St. Augustine's, with very satisfactory results. That place would be of great benefit to the Company's ships, if they were supplied with suitable beads to truck for cattle; those brought by the fleet were so bad that the natives would hardly take them. The pinnace is to go to St. Augustine's Bay with letters; so they have supplied her with

salt and arranged for some beef to be salted against their arrival. Have recovered 7,674 rials from the wreck of the *Swallow*, but no trace can be found of the *Charles*. The caravan came down from Ahmadābād on January 23, and the goods have been got on board; so now they wait for nothing but a favourable wind. The *Mary* is likely to make a speedier return home than was expected, for Fremlen has already provided 1,500 bales of Agra indigo, and hopes to make this up to 2,000 (besides other goods) by the time she is ready. 'The Portugalls are very bold with their frigotts, and come daily within shott of our ships. Some twenty sail of them sett upon a Dutch shipp[1] of 1,000 tons and forty peeces of ordnance that came from Bantam, with a Portugall prize come from Malacca, betweene Gundevye and the River of Suratts mouthe, and they so desperately plied her on every side that they had indaungered the fireing or [taking?] of her, if she had not luckily by one shott tane away their [leader?]. And since the *Great James* and *Dolphin* went over the barre, they [came so] neere them that they were forced to drive them off with their o[rdnance] and shott one of them, as appeared afterwards.' Hammond has been detained at Surat to act as surgeon to the factory. The rest of the surgeons are dead, with the exception of Bullard; so they are in great need of assistance in this respect. (*Signed copy, damaged.* 3 *pp.*)

Emanuel Altham at Armagon to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, January 27, 1633 (*O.C.* 1491).

Requests him to get made for him six very large 'lansoles' [*see* p. 229], well painted with flowers, big enough for an English bed; also two or three dozen well painted long pillowbeers. Will provide the money on hearing that Colley can do this. Sends the moulds and trunk left for him by Adams. *PS.*—Let the 'lansoles' be 3½ yards or more long, and nearly three broad. *PPS.* (*February* 4)—Has just received his of January 25, by which he understands that Colley has sent him two 'chintes' by William Bruton. Thanks him and will see him satisfied. Will desire Cartwright or Fitch to make over money to Colley in payment of what is or shall be due. (1 *p.*)

[1] The *Zeeland* (see the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 169).

John Norris, Ralph Cartwright, and Thomas Clark at Masulipatam to Thomas Colley and other Factors at Petapoli, January 29, 1633 (*O.C.* 1490).

Understand by their letter of yesterday that Fitch has arrived with the money in safety ; note also the present scarcity of cloth in those parts fitting their present purpose. Had the contracts been made by musters (as was desired) the merchants would have been obliged to deliver cloth accordingly, whereas now it must be received at current prices. Suppose that the agreement with 'Vincolay' [*see* p. 278] was of the same kind ; if so, it is to very small purpose. It is contrary to reason that money should be paid out beforehand for they know not what, except that the cloths are salampores and percallas. If the prices are high, these will be better left than taken, especially seeing the investment is for Europe, 'where its cheapenesse is the occasion of its vend.' Henceforth all agreements must be by musters, which should be sent to Masulipatam for approbation and comparison with the sorts here provided, for where cloth is cheapest there it must be procured. Are very sensible that the Governor of Petapoli has imprisoned their merchants, and have written to him to endeavour their release. Should this have no effect, speedy advice should be sent, that some other course may be taken. The request of 'Mier Hassein' for three 'guz' [*see* p. 79] of stammell is granted, and the cloth will be sent by the next opportunity. 'The saddles you advize off, though high prized, being this cuntry worke, cannot be soe curious as to find acceptance with this King. However, it is now to late. and wee are sufficiently furnished with things of our owne cuntry which wee conseave will better please him.' (1 *p.* *Seal.*)

President Hopkinson at Surat to Nathaniel Wyche [at Baroda ?], January 31, 1633 (*O.C.* 1493).

Was astonished to hear from John Hunter that Wyche had spoken as though he had some grievance against Hopkinson. Protests that he has given no cause for offence, and trusts that Wyche will believe him to be his true-hearted friend. Edward Knipe has been sent up to assist him ; he is diligent, pliant, and obedient, and will doubtless give satisfaction. Sends as a token of

love, by 'Signor Isbrand [1]', a curious newly-invented pistol, that serves also as a walking-staff. It came to Hopkinson from a dear friend in England, but Wyche can make a better use of it in the place where he is. (1¼ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD AT SURAT BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, FEBRUARY 2, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 207).

Thomas Thimbleby, having been 'trayned up in England as a lynnen draper', is to buy cotton goods at Broach for dispatch to the southern factories. John Yard is appointed his assistant. Fremlen having often applied for factors to help him at Agra, especially in view of the dangerous sickness of his only assistant, [John] Robinson, it is determined to send thither Walter Morrall, John Drake, and Joseph Downham. Seven Englishmen who wilfully stayed behind their ships are sentenced to 'receive twenty curryes [Hind. *korā*, a stripe] apeece upon their bare backs', to be kept in irons until the fleet returns from Persia, and to pay for their diet during that period. (1 *p.*)

JOHN NORRIS, RALPH CARTWRIGHT, AND THOMAS CLARK AT MASULIPATAM TO THOMAS COLLEY AND OTHERS AT PETAPOLI, FEBRUARY 5, 1633 (*O.C.* 1494).

Find the musters forwarded by them unreasonably vile and dear; if no better can be procured, they must desist from the investment. The hundred patch bought by 'Naga' in 'Ninapoole' [*see* p. 230], if like the musters, are much too dear; and, should this prove to be due not to his knavery but to the state of the market, and no hopes of improvement, the factory there will be dissolved. Wonder that the Governor of Petapoli should treat their merchants as he has done. Perhaps they are in fault; if so, they must have patience. In the meantime they should be pressed to bring in their cloth, the time being now nearly expired; no excuses should be accepted, 'for wee meane not to be baffled as formerly.' 'Anantoes' cloth should be checked by the musters of last year. Enclose a letter which should be sent to 'Sultan Governor of Candacor [2]' about his

[1] Probably the Dutch merchant Isbrand Pieterszoon.

[2] Kandukūr, in Nellore district, 23 miles SW. of Ongole.

detention of the cotton yarn. If Petapoli does not afford the sort of cloth required, it must be procured elsewhere; and this ought to have been done without waiting for orders. Order them to repair forthwith to 'Ninapoole' or other parts in search of cloth at a reasonable price. If they fail to find any, they must at once return to Masulipatam the balance of the money, in order that it may be repaid, and the interest charges saved. 'Wee know very well all the cloth cannot be made answareable to one muster; yett therby is the price cutt and, worse being brought in, abatement might be made accordingly; wheras otherwise wee must conforme ourselves unto the tymes, which you know now is 30 or 40 per cent. different, and noe remedie is left us but only Anantoes curtesie.' (1¼ *pp.*)

MESSRS. READ, MATTHEW, BARLOW, AND JENNY, ABOARD THE *EXCHANGE*, TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 9, 1633 (*O.C.* 1495).

Acquaint them of the safety of the *Exchange* and the pinnace *Intelligence*, both bound for the west coast of Sumatra. Have kept company with the *Great James* since quitting Swally on January 27. Next day they took leave of the Persia fleet, commanded by Weddell; 'the *Swallow* haveing fyred the *Charles* fewe dayes past, by shooting of ordnance in the *Swallowes* gunroome, by which accident both shipps perished in few howres, to the great daunger of the whole fleete.' Enclose papers relating to their voyage, and relate a fruitless search for private trade said to be on board. (1½ *pp.* *Received August* 25, 1633.)

CONSULTATION HELD AT SURAT BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, FEBRUARY 25, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 209).

Hoare, the Agent at Bantam, having seized 77 bales of private trade laden aboard the *James*, and rated them at or below the prime cost, whereby the owners are considerable losers and the Company great gainers, it is ordered that those to whom the goods belonged shall, upon production of invoices, be paid at the rates fixed by Hoare, with the proviso that they must answer any demand the Company may make for freight and must indemnify

the latter against any claims on account of sums wrongly paid in this connexion. Lieutenant Smith is given 100 mahmūdīs as a gratuity for conducting divers caravans from Ahmadābād and other places. (1 *p.*)

Passes Granted by the President and Council of Surat to Indian Junks, February, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 208).

'To all Commanders, Merchants, Masters, or whomsoever the servants of the Honourable English Companie Tradeing East India, health and loveing salutes. Wheras Nockoda Lover-de-Beage,[1] master of a junck cal'd the *Samb-Cranee* [? *Sumbuk-rānī*], belonging to the King, bound from Suratt to Mocka and back againe, hath requested the passe of this President and Councell for his quiet navigateing, we therfore, the President and Counsell, considering the reasonablenes of his demand, have thought requisite to dispence with these few lynes in his behalfe, requiring all and every one of you not onely to forbeare all maner of seizure or disturbance to him, his men, vessell, merchandize, or whatsoever therin, but to use him and them with curteous corresponds during his sailing with yow. Provided that this warrant be of validity for the space of one yeare, and no longer, after the date hereof. Given in Suratt the 5th day of February, anno 1632' [1633]. Another given at the same time to 'Noccoda Trussen[2] Beage', in the '*Messahee*' [*Masīhī*], bound to Mokha and back. Another to 'Mahmud Crabbas' [Mahmūd Abbās?] in the '*Hessanee*' [*Hasanī*], bound for Ormus and back, February 7. Another to 'Sheckdoud' [Shaikh Dāūd] in the '*Moneree*' [*Munīrī*], bound for the same place, February 9. Another to Sheck Allee [Shaikh Alī], in the '*Amoodee*' [*Ahmadī*], bound for Mokha and back. Two to 'Hoppus Caun' [? Hāfiz Khān], in the '*Salamatea*' [*Salāmatī*], and 'Abdell Summand' [Abdul Samad] in the '*Gorab-Hoppus*' [? *Gharīb Hāfiz*], both bound from Goghā to the Red Sea and back, February 15.[3] (1 *p.*)

[1] The *nākhudā* (skipper) Alī Virdī Beg.

[2] Probably a copyist's error for 'Hussen', i.e. Hasan.

[3] A note on p. 209 of the same volume adds to the list a pass granted on February 26 to 'Nockoda Emedgee' [Ahmadjī], bound for 'port Muckdassa, neare the Red Sea' [i.e. Makdashua, or Magadoxo, in East Africa] and back.

CONSULTATION HELD AT SURAT BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, MARCH 1, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 210).

Thirty bales of broadcloth having been landed here, chiefly upon the Governor's promise to buy them, and having since been refused by him, it is decided to send them up to Agra, under the care of the factors now proceeding thither. John Bangham is to accompany them as far as Burhānpur, and there to endeavour to recover the money due on account of Sir Francis Crane's tapestry. Should the cloth be opened at that place, and any quantity be desired by Mahābat Khān, Bangham is authorized to sell at whatever price he thinks fit; but he is to forbear getting into any controversy with Mahābat Khān about it, 'least he should force the whole complement from them.' Presents to be provided for Mahābat Khān and 'Hackeyme Cushall' [Hākim Khush-hāl]. (1 *p.*)

JOHN NORRIS AND THOMAS CLARK AT MASULIPATAM TO RALPH CARTWRIGHT AND OTHERS [AT PETAPOLI?], MARCH 5, 1633 (*O.C.* 1497).

Find the musters they have forwarded exceedingly dear; had expected better pennyworths, but know no remedy but patience, seeing that the times are so averse. Will shortly send instructions as to future investments; and in the meantime desire Cartwright to repair to Masulipatam to assist in council about matters of greater importance. He should bring with him any washers that can be spared. Have used up the gunny and packthread for rice-bags; a further supply should be forwarded. *PS.*—'Mirza Shim Shaw' [Mīrzā Shamsher?] has written offering fifty bales of cotton yarn. Their answer is sent herewith; and the bearer should be given a muster of that contracted for with 'Ananto'. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

WILLIAM GIBSON, JOHN SHERLAND, RICHARD COOPER, AND JOHN WILLOUGHBY AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 6, 1633 (*O.C.* 1498).

The fleet arrived on February 18. Of the two Indian commodities brought by it, the sugarcandy is so bad as to be unsaleable, while the other will not fetch cost price. Intend to dispatch the *Mary* and *Dolphin* to Surat by the 10th or 12th current. The *Jonas* and *Hart* will await the silk expected from Ispahān, and

will then follow to Surat, if time will permit; if not, they will go straight to Masulipatam. This would be the better course, inasmuch as they would thus pleasure a great many powerful friends here, and gain a good freight. Some two days ago arrived from Masulipatam a ship belonging to Mīr Kamāldīn, 'guarded both by nacion and collours of the Dutch.'[1] She brought few goods but very many passengers. *PS.*—Only four factors survive out of the nine appointed to this place. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.* *Received April* 5, 1634.)

The East India Company to the Agent and Council in Persia, March 12, 1633 (*Factory Records, Persia*, vol. i. p. 361).

. . . . Complain of lack of advice from Persia and Surat. Now send thirteen factors to supply both places. . . . The fleet dispatched herewith is composed of the *Palsgrave*, *Discovery*, and *Reformation*, with a cargo consisting of broadcloths and kerseys (costing 6,558*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*), coral (4,457*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*), amber and amber beads (1,317*l.* 16*s.*), lead (1,402*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*), quicksilver (3,974*l.*), tapestry (800*l.*), scarlets, velvets, etc. (400*l.*), and strong waters (76*l.*), besides 49,939*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* in silver rials and dollars, and 11,459*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* in gold.[2] . . . Mr. Wm. Methwold has been sent out to be 'our President in India' if Rastell be dead; if not, he is to be 'the first man of that Consultacion' until Rastell leaves for England at the end of his term. As before, the Agent and Council in Persia are to be subordinate to the President and Council at Surat. . . . (*Corrected draft.* 2½ *pp.*)

Instructions from the President and Council of Surat to John Bangham, proceeding to Burhānpur, March 14, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 211).

The factors for Agra will travel with him as far as Burhānpur. On arrival there, if the broadcloth intended for Agra be stopped, he may dispose of it to 'Mahobett Caun or any of his ministers'; otherwise, it should be sent on to its destination. He is to endeavour to recover from 'Raja Setter Sall,[3] granchild to the

[1] See the Batavia *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 145.

[2] See also *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 318, and the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, pp. 265, 336.

[3] Rao Rājā Chhatarsāl, grandson of Rao Ratan (see p. 90). He was killed in 1658 in the war between Aurungzīb and Dārā.

Raja that bought it', the debt due on account of Sir Francis Crane's tapestry. The 'screete' for the money is in the hands of 'Cassidas, vackeele to Virge Vora'. If the Rājā is not in Burhānpur, but in some place adjoining, Bangham may repair to him for this purpose, taking 'Cullyan', the broker, to assist. Whatever may be recovered, after deducting 'the accustomary desturyes [*dastūrī*, commission]', should be made over by exchange to the Agra Factory; likewise any money received for the broadcloth. Presents are sent for Mahābat Khān and Hākim Khush-hāl. The latter will probably assist Bangham, as he 'hath alwayes proved our freind'. Recoveries to be made from three carters at Burhānpur. 'We, understanding that couries [*see* p. 275], or shells called perewinckles, are current about the parts of Brampore and in payment of small money, desire your sending hether musters of them by your next conveyance; as likewise to advise us what quanteties may be there procured, and at what rates, our masters haveing required a reasonable proportion to be sent them whome by the next shipping.' The invoice of the broadcloth is herewith delivered to Bangham, to guide him in fixing prices. It should afterwards be handed over to the factors going to Agra. (1¾ *pp.*)

William Gibson, John Sherland, and Richard Cooper, aboard the *Mary* at Gombroon, to the President and Council at Surat, March 15, 1633 (*O.C.* 1499).

Enclose a copy of their last, sent by the Dutch [*see* p. 285]. Would gladly have furnished a list of Indian commodities vendible here, but the times are so altered that those goods are in disesteem and will not yield their prime cost. Reiterate their objections to the fleet coming first to Persia, both on account of the danger to the health of the factors and because the silk cannot be ready at the port until January or February. Wonder that Kirkham should have expressed a contrary opinion. That Surat has been unable to supply them with goods to the extent ordered by the Company does not matter in the present state of the market, 'for tis as badd with us for selling as tis with you for buying.' For their indigo they are offered 75 'larrees' the Surat maund, and for the sugar-

candy 26. Approve the dispatch of two ships yearly to Masulipatam to bring goods to Persia; but they should not be timed to arrive here earlier than the other ships. Small demand for broadcloth. Have not yet got rid of any rix dollars. 'The project for Muscatt . . . is quite desolved, as alsoe the cheefe instrument, our auntient freind the Duke of Xiraz, and his three sonnes, whoe weere by the Kings comaund in Cosbeene most miserablely executed [*see* p. 293]. Besides, as you have had some inkling of, likewise all forces that may be had are bent towards the warrs of Georgia, whoe lately, upon some discontent betwixt this King and them, have made great insurrections in this kingdome.' Were they as fortunate as the Dutch in being supplied with southern commodities, it would have been a great help in mitigating the loss they suffer in their northern; wonder that the Company should neglect their opportunities in this way, for the Dutch make ordinarily three or four for one on the goods they bring from thence. 'Besides, in all the tyme they [the Company] have had trade in these parts, they have not soe much as gaind one place of hould to trust to upon any occation or to keepe theire servants from being insulted over as they are in divers places where they trade, especially you in Surratt, where you say you dare not dispose of the ships as you would, for feare of giving discontent to that rogue your Governor. Thinke you the Companies busines is not at a fine passe when such a rascall as he shall thus dominere over us. Yes, we knowe you are too censible therof by your forced suffrance both ther and in other places, as your many complaints therof doth make it apeare; where on the contrary, had we some place of refuge neere them, as the Dutch and Portingall hath, wee should make all these parts stand in awe of us and bring them almost to what condicions of trade we would, and not suffer ourselves to be thus grosly abused and insulted over by these villaines as we are. Although we are farr better intreated heere in these parts over what you are there, yett many tymes wee passe by discurtesies now and then, which, if it were otherwaies that we could mend ourselves, they should not be forgotten.' Agree as to the unthankfulness of the passengers they bring, and heartily wish they could be no more troubled with them. The gain is not worth looking after; and the Company desire to get rid

of this traffic and reap the benefit of the trade themselves. To this there are, however, divers obstacles ; the Surat factors would probably be forced to continue the practice ; while its discontinuance would endanger the losing of the customs here and the favour they have gained with these people by carrying them yearly to and fro. Have had much trouble in their business this year, but hope soon to receive 271 bales of silk. 'We must confesse at present the Companies busines in these parts was never at such a stand'; yet, considering 'the strange alteracion of state that hath hapned heer in lesse then a twelve month space', it is rather a matter for wonder that things are not worse. 'The cutting of the Duke, with all his children that were present with him, put us in feare we should have found it a greate deale worse then we doe; but . . . for matter of privilidges we finde them rather enlarged unto us then any waies restrained.' Nevertheless, they intend, on their next visit to court, to press for a special farmān from the King, 'that we shall ether mend it or end it . . . We conceave the Company were better have noe busines heer at all then remaine as at this passe.' Reasons for the deficiency in the weight of the silk. The accounts for the Second Voyage are not yet ready. Among the passengers that come by the English ships from Surat are some who claim to pass custom-free on the ground that their goods belong to ambassadors or are presents for the King; suggest that in future none should be allowed to take passage who will not promise to pay customs as well as freight. In the present fleet there came a man with no less than 500 bales of sugar and 30 of cloth, who declares that these are the goods of 'Mahmot Alle Beage [*see* p. 197], embassadoure in India for this Kinge, by which name and title we are out of hopes of getting a farthinge of hime for any custome'. Request some Indian 'toyes' for presents, such as gold 'shashes' of Ahmadābād, fine 'chints' of Masulipatam, white broad baftas, and some preserves. Private trade is grown incorrigible, in spite of all efforts to suppress it ; the seamen and pursers are the chief offenders. Although sixteen men were employed to watch the customhouse and other landing places, so much was brought ashore and sold, and at such low prices, that the Company's sales are likely to be much prejudiced ; for the King's officers will scarcely continue the existing contract (much less

consent to an advance in the rates of English goods, as the Company desire) if they find that these goods can be bought at much lower prices at the port. Cannot discover the names of the owners of the commodities thus sold or the agents in their disposal; 'for a man that comes ashoare with any merchandize, the houses are soe neere the waterside he may presently chope [i.e. dart] into one and finde chapemen for all he hath in one hower, if he will but sell a little underhand.' This must be remedied by the Company at home and not here. Cannot provide pearls, as desired, for at present none may be had except at very high rates; and moreover, all their money has been carried up to Ispahān and it is only with difficulty that they can obtain enough to pay current expenses. Had they known of the Company's wishes last year, they could easily have procured some, 'for then the place abounded in that comodity.' 'Had there not beene a generall drowth throughout this country almost this three yeares, your order for the provesion of graine might have likewise beene observed; but (espetially this last yeare) such want of foode hath beene amongst these poore people that it hath come verie little short of the dearth there with you.' However, they send a small quantity of wheat which they have managed to secure. The unheard-of mortality befallen their newcomers has obliged them to take ashore 'Mr. Wild' [Wylde], Thomas Waldo, and Constantine Young (a surgeon). Have sent some Shirāz wine, rosewater, hens, and pistachios, and desire in return sixteen or twenty good handsome chairs to furnish their house at Gombroon. Will examine the pursers' accounts, as ordered. Most of the Company's servants here of old standing are anxious to return to England, but cannot at present do so for want of others to take their places. This should be seriously considered, for their salaries do not cover half their unavoidable expenses; and if neither the Company nor the Surat authorities will move, they will be forced to make some allowances amongst themselves. Instance the cases of Cooper, Sherland, and Gibson himself. The reason for larger expenditure here than at Surat is that 'our nation heere is in great esteem and respect with the King and nobillity, whom very often we visite about our busines; and if soe be we come not in that decensy as others have formerly done, we shall not be admited their presence. . . . . Againe, our travayles yearly

to and froe are none of our least expences.' Advise the dispatch of a parcel of cubebs belonging to the late Captain Morton; and notify that a bale of cloth is missing from the *Jonas*.[1] (*Copy*. 8 *pp.*)

PROJECT FOR TRADE, MARCH 16, 1633 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 78).[2]

The *Charles*, etc., carried to Surat 103,000*l.* in money and about 43,000*l.* in goods; the *Jewel* to Bantam 4,000*l.* in money and 1,300*l.* in goods; and the *Pearl* to Masulipatam 8,900*l.* in money and 1,500*l.* in goods; total, 160,700*l.* [*sic*]. It is hoped that this will advance to 315,700*l.*, from which may be deducted 20,000*l.* for charges in the East, leaving 295,700*l.* Out of this the Company expect a ship to be laden at Surat in December, 1633, to the value of 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.*, and two others to the value of 70,000*l.* or 80,000*l.*, say 140,000*l.* in all, leaving four ships and a stock of 155,700*l.* Think it advisable to increase the investment in Persian silk. Trust that the debt at Surat will be much lessened if not extinguished from Bantam. A yearly return of shipping and stock to be sent home. (1½ *pp.*)

RALPH CARTWRIGHT AT MASULIPATAM TO THOMAS COLLEY AT PETAPOLI, MARCH 19, 1633 (*O.C.* 1500).

Marvels that nothing has been heard in reply to the last letter sent him. The Agent is angry, and requires to know why his advices are not more frequent. No opportunity should be lost of prosecuting his business, and Cartwright will stand his friend in what he may. They need 15 seer of gold, which he is to endeavour to procure for ready money from the merchants. The latter proffered 'to retorne what they receaved at the rate of 68 for 67 pag[odas] per seire ready money'. Requests him to pay them out of the funds he has. 'The valew of new pag[odas] heere is 29 per cent. (but let not our merchants know soe much), and with you (we suppose) 25 or 26 at the most'. Must get the gold as cheap as he can, and send it by the bearer hereof, with a guard of

[1] Eight days later the factors at Gombroon sent a letter to the Company by Weddell's fleet (*O.C.* 1503), containing much the same news as is given above.

[2] A letter drafted by Mr. Smithwick and sent to India 'as from a private man' and not from the Company.

soldiers. On its receipt they will return him the number of pagodas he has disbursed. Norris would have supplied Colley with a 'million of waters' [i.e. a water-melon], but none are to be had here; 'you must send us one or two pingas [*see* p. 238] laden with the greatest and best may be hadd.' He is also to procure what ducats or 'chickeenes' he can from 'Annanto' or 'Nyranna' at 14 old fanams apiece, and Cartwright will repay him; but they must be 'weight and good'. If he wishes for arrack or sugar, he must send vessels to put it in. Cartwright's stay here will not be above ten or twelve days. Will forward the required medicine shortly. 'I am sorry brother Dick was not heere to succor his sister Antonyca yesterdy in the afternoone; and had not I come helpe the poore wench, her husband had spoyled her with a St. Laurence lance, which I tooke from him, and made them (seemeing) friends; but he sweares he will torne her home to her mother, because she called her daughter whoore and him cuckold. This was donne neare to our garden, and the mother and daughter well basted before I came thither.' Hopes Colley has no such quarrels; if so, will send him some admonitions. *PS.*—Their sloop is now in sight. (1 *p.*)

Robert Carpenter at Gombroon to Thomas Colley at Armagon, March 21, 1633 (*O.C.* 1501).

Having heard of his safe arrival from England, he sends congratulations on his return into these parts. Has entrusted to John Godbehere a chest of wine as a present for Colley; 'att the drinckenn, lett me not be forgotten.' Hopes to take his passage for England on the return of the fleet to this port, and will be glad to do Colley any service there. (½ *p.* *Seal.*)

John Norris, Ralph Cartwright, and Thomas Clark at Masulipatam to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, March 22, 1633 (*O.C.* 1502).

Desire him to make over charge to Hudson, and repair hither as speedily as possible, in order to accompany Cartwright 'into Bengala'. The ship in which they go is to depart next Monday. The musters sent with his last are returned herewith, being so unreasonably dear that they will not meddle with them, but will rather wait to see what the future will produce. (½ *p.*)

CAPTAIN WEDDELL AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 24, 1633 (*O.C.* 1504).

There has been a wonderful alteration in these parts since the fleet was here last. The Agent, Mr. Kirkham, died on his way up to Ispahān, and but six are living out of the twelve that were left on shore with him. 'The Cawne of Serash[1] with three of his sonnes are beheaded by the King of Persia, and his countrey disposed of to others. Some [of] his sonnes are escaped to the Arabs. His brother (whose revolte to [the] Georgians was the cause of this tragedie) is now up in armes with that people against him. The Turke is come or comeing with a mighty army to beseige Babilon [Bagdad]. The King of Persia against all these preparations is but weakely guarded and as weakely provided, for his forces are [not] above tenn thousand, the rest of his princes not dareing to come in, [fearing] the same entertainment with the Caune, and professing a rendition of their countreyes to the enemie, in case they may not quietly enjoy them, rather then undergoe the certaine losse of their heads; insomuch that the kingdom of Persia is not without cause in feare of danger to be lost or devided. Though it be impertinent to your affaires, yet I cannot overslipp [without] some mencion the innocent suffering of the Duke of Serash and the barbarous cruelty of the King. The Duke of Serash brother, on a tyme merryly feasting with the King, lett fall some overliberall speeches, and by the Kings comaund was instantly had forth and drub'd (as the manner of this countrey is) with some extremity. Whether mindfull of this injury hee [sought] revenge, or fearing the Kings further displeasure, hee fledd to the Georgians. The Duke his brother labour'd his returne and submission; and, not [effec]ting it, in his fidelity to the King grew his brothers enemy. The King, seemingly satisfied, sent for the Duke and his sonnes to court. The go[od old ?] man in obedience came with his two sonnes, foreseeing and

[1] Imām Qulī Khān. Accounts of the tragedy are given by Tavernier (1676 ed., vol. i. p. 531) and by Olearius (*Travels of the Holstein Ambassadors*, Eng. transl., 1662, p. 361). In the latter it is stated that Qulī Khān's brother, Dāūd Khān, fearing the intentions of the Shāh, retired to the dominions of his brother-in-law, 'Tamaras [T'heimuraz] Chan' of Georgia, and thence sought refuge in Turkey: that Qulī Khān was thereupon summoned to court, and obeyed, although warned of his danger: that there he was put to death, and fifteen of his children killed, but one child was carried by its mother to her father in Arabia. Tavernier says that two children (both infants) escaped the massacre.

prepared [for] death. The King entertaynes him lovingly; but after a little tyme, s[itting] drinking with the youngest sonne of the Duke, that lived and was brought up with him att court, hee caused the Dukes head with his two sonnes to be strucke off and brought in before him, and demaunds of the young gent[leman] if hee knew those heads. Hee (deprived of his witts and memory by wyne) made answer "No"; and, wisht by the King to peruse them more advisedly, could make no other answer but "No". The King then calls for a bowl of wyne and, casting it on their heads, uttered these words: "They dranke wyne while they liv'd; lett them drinke now they are dead;" and so sent forth the sonne to know who they were in the next world or never. . . . These things have bred such feares [and] distraccions in the countrey people that they dare not travell, and few merchants of accompt are come downe; so that here is litle vente for your commodities; though otherwise the King is very loveing and courteous to the Agent and our nation, and hath given commaund since the Cauns death that the English should enjoy all their priviledges as formerly, with augmentacion rather then diminution.' There are 271 bales of silk on their way to this place, and it is hoped that by the latter part of the year a large quantity will be ready. In the meantime the *Mary* and *Dolphin* by the 13th of this month [*sic*] are to be sent to Surat, where the former will take in some goods and proceed to Masulipatam. The *Jonas* and *Hart* are to wait here for the silk and then follow to Surat if the season permits; if not, they are to meet the *Mary* and *Dolphin* at Masulipatam. Having transferred their silk to the *Mary*, they are then to return with freight to this port. The *Dolphin* will accompany them if there are sufficient freight goods to lade her as well; otherwise she will proceed to the southwards. The backwardness in the coming down of the silk is due to the Dutch, who 'are in every place treacherous and undermyneing your affairs'. They lately obtained, by means of a bribe, part of the silk intended for the English, and have offered a further bribe to be allowed to keep it. 'Arriveing here before us they were busie with the Persian to overthrowe the creditt of our nation and the Company, by reports that the factorie at Suratt were so farr indepted that they were daily imprisoned and were not able to subsiste long: that since the fireing of the *Charles* and *Swallowe* wee would not be

able to pay for their silkes, and that these few shipps were all the forces wee had : that their masters here had ten crownes for our one, and such forces in theis parts that they need not feare the power of any prince. They have dealt likewise with the Persian that they might have the third of the customes heere, and then they would bring as much tradeing and more hether then the English.' Further, finding that the English, in view of the unhealthiness of their present abode, were negotiating with the Shāhbandar for a more convenient and newly-built house, they secretly proffered that official for it so many hundred tūmāns ready money, against the English offer of a yearly rent ;[1] 'but wee have the promise of the Shabander to have it from them. These things shew what kind of love and freindshipp they bare to us, were it in their power to hurte, and will require your serious consideracions. I had a letter since my being att Gumbroone from the [Duke] of Serash concerning the busines of Muskatt ; but that designe pe[rished] with his death ; and now since the death of Rufrera in December [last],[2] who was Governour in Muskatt and hee which formerly burnt y[our ships] and was buisie at sea with his frigotts, which are now more quiett, the Dutch gave it out that they will undertake Muskatt for themselves. I will beleeve it when I see it, for without the land forces of the [Duke] it is impossible to be effected.' He has been the Company's servant for a long time, and trusts therefore that he may without offence tender advice which he conceives will be to their benefit. They would do well to offer their tried and faithful servants some inducement to stay. Their present remuneration is so small that 'in theis parts it will not find them clothes, for these people are a nation with whom of necessity your cheif factours must [in] some measure of apparrell correspond, or otherwise be

[1] This matter is referred to again in a letter written by the factors at Ispahān to the Company, June 26, 1633 (*O.C.* 1507), in which they say that they had been negotiating for the house for nearly three years, but that after they had come to an agreement with the owner, the Dutch 'would faine have stept in betweene us and home, as apeared by there filling of many of the warehouses, which we found at our entrance, but we have made shift to torne them out to goe seeke for another house'. The Dutch version is that the English, by offering a higher rent, induced the owner to accept them as tenants, although he had previously agreed to let the building to the Dutch (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 260).

[2] This seems to be wrong; according to Paul Craesbeeck's *Commentarios* (1647) Ruy Freire did not die till September, 1633.

contemned. Besides, the hazard of their lives is so great that it may easily in[duce] them to any imployment of more safety and more profitt.' The sending of new men to dispossess others well experienced is both a grievance to the latter and a loss to the Company; for the seasoned men return home and the new-comers die without any service done. Commends Gibson, the present Agent, as 'an able and discreete man, m[uch] respected by the nation and well beloved of the King; and your affairs [are] like to prosper with him. Heere arrived the 4th of this moneth a shipp of Messulapatan of 400 tonns or thereabouts and bearing Dutch colours, laden with that countrey commodities and such as [from] those parts were vendible heere [*see* p. 286]. Somewhat it may advantage your customes; but the consideracion will minister matter of [more?] consequence and benefitt to you. For, in my opinion, if there were [a] stocke of 20,000*l.* at Messulapatan, to be invested in such comodities as that countrey doth afford, bought at the best hand when the tyme [of the] yeare affords, and brought hither, it would yeild you more certayne gaine and advantage then any comodity you can send from England heere; I proporcion at least cent. per cent. profitt. The returne [is] short and without danger, for the stocke adventured from Messulapatan in June wilbe heere in September and may be returned in March next, when the shipps goe thither to load up. The example is before you, for the merchants of the countrey which came hither in the *Marie* and *Exchange*, finding the sweetnes of the trade, beginne for want of shipping to come hither in their own vessells. The like stocke would effect as much from Suratt hither, and not any wayse hinder your customes, but make you parteners of the certaine benefitt, which now strangers onely enjoy. Besides, your benefitt must needs be greater, payeing no custome.' English broadcloth begins to be a drug here and also at Surat. A few scarlets will sell at the latter place, but the Governor will suffer none to pass except through his hands. Some inquiry is made for mouse-colour and fine green Spanish cloth, of which perhaps 40 or 50 would vend. Understands from a Persian ambassador, who was a passenger in the fleet, that English cloth (of 18*l.* or 20*l.* a cloth) would sell at the court of the King of Golconda; of this a trial might be made. 'I am often sorry to see our shipps lye in porte idle, our hands

bound, and our men doe nothing but drinke and quarrell for want of imployment. I could wish therefore that two shipps might be imployed at Cape Comerin and those parts, for thither the Dutch send downe shipps to wayelay the Molucco [Malacca] and other vessells, which at the tyme of yeare never faile; which makes them rich, famous, and much esteemed with these heathen people. They are now intended to take Bombasse [Mombasa] (an island on the coaste of Melinde) from the Portugalls and strengthen themselves in theis parts, as they have done in the southward.[1] To this purpose they are to meet with seven shipps more from Europe or Jaccatra [Batavia] at the Mayottas [Comoros], the place appointed for their randevouz. Bombasse is a place of good harbour for shipps, yeelds store of elephants teeth and amber, lyes very convenient for the trade of India, and wilbe a means in tyme to gaine Mozambique also. I understand by one Mallum Commaule [Mālim (pilot) Kamāl], our pilott formerly into theis parts and who was there at the last seige of Bombasse,[2] that it is very weakely guarded and in much distresse, and doth verily beleeve that it wilbe surrendred upon the sight of an enemy. This I purpose to acquaint the President and Councell at Suratt with; and if they shall thinke fitt to give way [to] this buisnes, I doubt not but, with theis three shipps wee have here and the assistance of those from England, to possesse ourselves of it before the arrivall of the Dutch.' News has come that the silk will be down earlier than was expected; and so he hopes to overtake the *Mary* and *Dolphin* at Surat. Will send a copy of this letter by the former vessel, together with a brief discourse of the loss and regaining of 'Bombasse' by the Portuguese. The *Mary* has been furnished with stores of various kinds, which will make the other ships short unless a supply is brought by the new fleet. *PS.*—On the 19th current arrived 271 bales of silk, which were embarked in the *Jonas* and the *Hart*. They will be re-imbaled during the voyage to Masulipatam. (*Signed copy. 5 pp.*)

[1] This was a mistake. The ships were ordered to cruise off the African coast for the purpose of capturing the carracks from Lisbon (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 192).

[2] The abortive attempt of the Portuguese to retake Mombasa (see Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. iii. p. 481). It was re-occupied a little later, the natives having deserted the place.

Bill of Lading of the *Palsgrave*, bound from London to Surat, March 25, 1633 (*Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv. No. 15).

The list includes 300 pigs of lead, 80 barrels of quicksilver, 3 hogsheads of amber beads, 22½ chests of rials, one chest of gold, 100 bales of cloth, etc. (½ *p.*)

Consultation held at Surat by the President and Council, April 5, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 213).

It is decided that the *Mary* shall take in the lead now on board the *Dolphin* and sail at once for the Coromandel Coast, there to embark what goods are ready for England and then to accompany the *Jonas* and *Hart* to Persia with freight goods. The reasons for this course are that (1) the goods here provided, as also those expected from Persia by the *Jonas* and *Hart*, were bought for the Third Persian Voyage, to which the *Mary* belongs, and no rich goods have yet been sent home on that account ; (2) the *Mary* can be dispatched to England from India at an earlier date than from Bantam, as in the latter case she would have to go to Jambi for a lading ; (3) Capt. Slade affirms that the ship can without risk remain until the beginning of next year. Further, it is determined to send the *Dolphin* to Bantam, with Indian commodities and four chests of silver ; these should provide her with a full cargo for England. Norris having left the Coast of Coromandel, Joyce is appointed to proceed thither as Agent. Cartwright is to be given the option of remaining or leaving, and in the latter case Colley is appointed to assist Joyce. Thomas Turner, having arrived from Persia and being without suitable employment, is to succeed Joyce as Purser-General and Member of Council. Thomas White, formerly purser's mate in the *Charles*, is made purser of the *Dolphin*. There being small hope of better prices, it is resolved to sell their rough amber at 5 rupees per seer of 18 pice, camphor at 17½ rupees the seer, and amber beads at 6½ rupees the seer. Factors being needed on the Coast, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Peniston, and Charles Green are to be sent thither with Joyce. (2 *pp.*)

Passes granted by the President and Council of Surat, April 11, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 212).

To 'Cottee[1] Allee', 'Noccoda Suffree' [Safarī], 'Noccoda Muhepocur' [Muhyī Bāqir], 'Cottee Mahmudd', 'Mahmud Pocur' [Mahmūd Bāqir], and 'Collander' [Qalandar], all bound for various ports on the Malabar coast. (¼ *p.*)

Commission from the President and Council to Captain Weddell for his Voyage to Masulipatam, April 16, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 215).

He is appointed to command the fleet, consisting of the *Jonas*, *Mary*, and *Hart*, with the usual powers of punishment, etc. His destination is Masulipatam, where he will receive instructions from the Agent and Council for his further proceedings; he will probably be sent to Persia, and thence to meet the ships from England. Unusual punishments forbidden, except by a general consent of his council. Unnecessary expense of powder and shot to be prevented. No seaman to be advanced more than a third of his wages. Private trade, etc., prohibited. Dutch ships to be relieved, if in need. Purloining from passengers to be punished. Receipts to be given for fresh provisions delivered to each ship. Portuguese vessels may be chased and taken. 'We have bene enforced by this unjust Governor to grant cowles [Arabic *qaul*: here equivalent to a safe-conduct] to divers Mallabars for their secure tradeing. If therfore yow meete with any, lett them peaceably passe without offering them any violence, unles yow take such course as any act committed against them be never brought to publique hearing; for it hath ever bene their practize to bely their losses, and so by their clamour cause the Governour to extort from us more then triple the value.' On arriving in Persia, if there be no danger from the Portuguese, the *Mary* and another ship should be dispeeded for Surat as soon as possible. (4 *pp.*)

[1] The word 'Cottee' is a puzzle; but possibly there is some connexion with the Malayālam *kottiya*, a fast-sailing vessel used on the Malabar Coast. Or it may be an error for Qulī.

Commission from the President and Council to John Hatch, April 16, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 219).

He is to proceed with the *Dolphin* to Bantam, and there to place himself under the orders of the Agent and Council. Powers of punishment, etc., conferred. A council appointed to assist him, consisting of John Garlick, Thomas White, Andrew Trumball, and John Garrett (master's mates); Hatch to have a casting vote. Junks provided with passes are not to be interfered with. Should he die, John Garrett is to take command. (1½ *pp.*)

Commission and Instructions from the President and Council at Surat to Thomas Joyce, appointed Agent on the Coast of Coromandel, April 16, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 220).

He is appointed chief director of the Company's affairs and servants on the Coast. Ralph Cartwright is nominated as second, if he is willing to stay; if not, Colley is to take his place. Thomas Clark is also to be of Council. The garrison of the fort at Armagon consisting of 'mustizoes' [Port. *mestiço*, a half-caste], there is some fear that they may conspire to betray the place into the hands of the enemy; 'yet do we not absolutely bid yow discharge them, least exasperated they discover the weakenes therof.' The bestowal of gifts upon the Nayāk, the Governor of Masulipatam, etc., is left to be settled in Council. Joyce is to take his passage in the *Mary*, where Capt. Slade will provide him with fitting accommodation. All commanders arriving from England are enjoined to place themselves under the direction of the Agent; and in case of cavil, the Company's letter to Surat, giving the necessary authority to the President, should be produced. The accounts are to be kept as formerly in pagodas and fanams. Each fanam is to be reckoned at 4*d.* sterling: the Armagon pagoda at 20 fanams or 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the Masulipatam pagoda at 25 fanams or 8*s.* 4*d.*: and the rial of eight at 15 fanams or 60*d.* sterling. The remains of quick and dead stock are to be transported successively as formerly ordered by President Rastell. 'It wilbe a matter worthy your consideracion to endeavour the most proffitable and least prejudiciall imployment for that ship or ships that shall yearly arive with yow during the time of their cargazones investment, whither with freight goods to

Tenasseree, Pegue, etc., or on the Companies account to Bengala, Gingely, etc. The Bengala trade we have much desired to heare some issue of, but for this two yeares past have bene crost by reason of their tardy dispeed ere the moonsoone is setled. When therfore such a designe is in readines, lett not your care be wanting to order their departure so as they may arrive there by the end of the moonsoone and retourne thence by begining of the next. Mr. Norrice haveing lately accquainted us of his hopes to procure such immunities as the Dutch now enjoy, and priviledges conferred upon the English, we require your utmost endeavour in joyning with him in the persistance therin, still adviseing us of the successe. We understand likewise by his last informacion that they intend to make their cheife residence at Mesulapatam; in respect wherof we pray yow seriously to inquire and satisfy yourselfe and us (with the assistance of Mr. Norrice, whose advise in all things we would have yow embrace) of the necessity of keepeing the fort, etc., at Armagon, and the yearly charges therof, etc., and whether it may not be relinquished without prejudice to our affaires; as also about the comodiousnes of farming a towne of the King (which also he writes of). Upon your inquiry therin, lett us be advertized of the condicion of its propriety and the scituation therof, whether it be not too neare this Kings frontires, which now in the time of warres betweene both Kings cannot be kept without danger of surprizall.' As it is intended to dispeed the *Mary* to England by the end of November, Joyce should as soon as possible advise Surat of the quantity of cloth, cotton yarn, etc., available at Masulipatam for transport to Europe, and should also do his best to purchase more at reasonable rates. In the event of Joyce's death, Cartwright is entreated to take upon him the post of Agent until another appointment can be made from Surat. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

Consultation held in Surat by President Hopkinson and his Council,[1] April 29, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 223).

It is decided to accept an offer from Vīrjī Vōra for their amber beads and fine coral. For the former he is to pay $6\frac{1}{4}$ rupees. per seer at $3\frac{1}{2}$ months from the 25th current, discharging the debt in rupees

[1] Mountney, Giffard, and Turner.

for the beads at Ahmadābād and in mahmūdīs for those in Surat. Of the coral he buys 56 chests (which cost in England 12*s.* or 14*s.* 7*d.* per lb.) at 8¾ rupees per small seer: 4 chests (cost 15*s.* per lb.) at 9½ rupees per seer: and 32 chests (cost 7*s.* per lb.) at 4 rupees per seer.[1] The factors being heavily in debt both at Agra and Ahmadābād, and the rates of exchange from the latter place to the former being far cheaper than from Surat to Ahmadābād, it is resolved to send up to Ahmadābād, under convoy and in company with the Dutch, as much money as can conveniently be procured, in order to discharge their liabilities and start a fresh investment. Mr. Wyche, who has requested permission to come down from Ahmadābād, is required to remain a while longer, in order to purchase goods for the *Mary's* lading for England, to remit money by exchange to Agra, and to make an investment for a cargo for Bantam. William Stafford, Thomas Barnett, and John Norman, who wilfully stayed behind their ships, are sentenced to be publicly whipped and to be kept in irons on rice and water until a ship arrives. For the reformation of 'divers enormous vices too rife and frequent amongst our people', an 'act or decree' is ordered to be drawn and placed in the hall 'in the publick view of all commers'. Clement Dunscomb being deceased, Benjamin Robinson is appointed 'Register' in his place. (2 *pp.*)

AN 'ACT' MADE BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT FOR THE REFORMATION OF ABUSES, MAY 4, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 225).[2]

Since the desired issue of their affairs depends upon God's blessings, 'which are still afforded or restreined according to the performance or neglect of our due obedience,' the President and Council have been induced to consider seriously the prevalence of many abuses 'to Gods dishonour and a blemish to our nation in the opinions of the people of this country, who are apt to take notice of the least of our errors.' They have decided accordingly to endeavour the repression thereof; and first they 'do gently exhort and admonish every man imploied under us to abandon as

[1] A marginal note (made in London) reckons the profit on the coral at nearly 80 per cent.

[2] A copy forms *O.C.* 1505.

much as possible those vices which custome hath glewed fast to his inclinacion'; but in case 'these good inducements prevaile nothing', they have thought fit to establish the following regulations: '1. That whosoever shalbe knowen to remaine out of our house the whole night, or be found absent at the time of shutting the gates, wherby he gives cause of suspicion that a worse place deteynes him, unles apparent necessity of buisines excuse him, shalbe amerced to pay forty shillings to the pore. 2. That no man shall neglect comeing to praiers (without urgent occasion call him therfrom), upon the forfeture of halfe a crowne; and for his needles absence from divine service on Sondaies his penalty shalbe the disbursment of five shillings as abovesaid. [3.] That if any man be heard to abuse the sacred name of God by swearing and cursing (a vice too frequent) [he] shall instantly pay twelvepence for every othe or curse. [4.] That what man soever shall appeare to be drunck, therby prostituting the worthines of our nation and religion to the calumnious censure of these heathen people, shalbe punished by the payment of *2s. 6d.* [5] Moreover, complaints being often brought unto us of our mens strikeing and abuseing divers people that have no relacion to our service, whoso offends hereafter in the like kind shall suffer three daies imprisonment in irons. [6.] The delinquent, being convicted by two witnesses, shall streightway obay the tenour of these injunctions; which if he dares to refuse, he is to remaine at our censures to receive further punishment as the cause shall require.' (2 *pp.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO RICHARD BELFIELD, MAY 4, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 227).

He is appointed to take charge of the caravan for Ahmadābād, with Wilbraham, Reading, and Osmond Smith for assistants. No time is to be lost on the road, and all unnecessary expense is to be avoided. Should the Agra caravan be found at Ahmadābād, they should be spared four or five English soldiers for their better protection. Any cases of drunkenness should be reported on return. Good correspondency to be kept with the Dutch. After delivering his charge to Mr. Wyche at Ahmadābād, he is to return as soon as possible. (1 *p.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO OSMOND SMITH, MAY 4, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 228).

He is to command the soldiers now employed to guard the money sent up to Ahmadābād, but is not to have any control over the merchants. The men must be kept from drinking and quarrelling; and good relations are to be maintained with the Dutch. (1 *p.*)

CAPTAIN WEDDELL, ABOARD THE *JONAS* NEAR CAPE COMORIN, TO THE COMPANY, MAY 9, 1633 (*O.C.* 1504).

Sends a copy [*see* p. 293] of his letter of March 24, the original of which was dispatched to them overland. On that date the *Jonas* and *Hart* sailed from Gombroon, accompanied by a Masulipatam ship, which kept company with them for 200 leagues. By her he sent letters to Norris at Masulipatam. Had a quick passage to Surat, arriving April 5. There they found the *Mary* and *Dolphin*, with four Dutch ships. No goods had come down, as expected, to lade the *Mary*; and so she is to accompany the *Jonas* and *Hart* to Masulipatam and thence to Persia and back again to Surat. By that time, it is hoped, her lading will be ready and, if so, she will be dispatched home in December next. 'The Dutch shipp[1] which was sent downe upon the coast of India as lowe as Callicute is returned, and hath brought with him two Portugall prizes. The master of her reported to mee that, if hee had a quantity of lead and clothe there, hee might have laden his shipp and such another with pepper. That small parcell of lead which hee carried with him for a triall hee putt off at two pounds of pepper for one of lead, and in the space of tenn dayes had procured 100 tonns. The countrey people brought it aboard him in prowes, and weighed it by their Dutch weights. Thus much I informed the President and Councell, and they intend the next yeere to make triall thereof if the coast be cleere.' The coral landed at Surat has been so highly rated by the Governor (to increase the duties payable) that it will not vend to any profit. The lead he takes into his own hands and at what rates he pleases; so they are keeping on board that brought in their fleet, hoping to sell it more profitably

[1] The *Vlissingen*; see the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 192.

next year 'at the Coaste'. If the Company intend 'to prosecute a trade at the River Ganges', it would be advisable to provide a couple of small ships, one of 160 and the other of 120 tons, drawing not above eight or ten feet at most, and well fortified with 18 and 16 guns apiece (saker and minion) for defence against frigates or other vessels. Order should likewise be given to the President and Council at Surat to dispeed the ships more seasonably, and not detain them longer than April 10 at the furthest. These ships stayed till April 21, and had a couple of boats sunk by the violence of the winds. While at Swally they re-imbaled their silk with cotton and cere-cloth, and an outer wrapping of gunny. They are keeping it aboard their three ships until their return to Surat. Since their departure they have been much troubled with westerly winds, thunder, lightning, and rain. Four Hollanders, bound for Batavia, kept them company as low as Goa. Joyce is going on the *Mary* to Masulipatam, to succeed Norris, who has much importuned for leave to return home. Thomas Turner succeeds Joyce at Surat. *PS.*—The Dutch have replaced all their ancient factors at Surat, Gombroon, and Masulipatam by new men.[1] There are ten of them left in Persia, 'and are all enjoyned by the Governour of Jaccatra, on forfeiture of their wages, not to weare any other then their owne countrey apparrell.' (2 *pp. Received by the* Exchange, *July* 28, 1634.)

JOHN GODBEER IN MASULIPATAM ROAD TO THOMAS COLLEY 'IN BENGALA OR ELSEWHERE', JULY 2, 1633 (*O.C.* 1508).

The many courtesies he received from him at their last being together have induced him, having an opportunity by the *Swan*, to acquaint him that their friends in London were all in health at the time of his departure. 'I received letters from your unckle and your cosen Easter and your freind Rite [Wright?], which I was in hope should have come safe unto your handes; but it pleased God that through the pride and drunckennes of Mr. Waterman, [he] sett his owne shipp on fire and, drivinge downe the tyde,

[1] In Persia Anthonie Delcourt had been replaced by Nikolaas Jakobsz. Overschie; while at Surat, both the Director Jan van Hasel and Hendrik Arentsz. Vapour having died, the charge of affairs was committed to Jakob van der Graaf (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, pp. 191, 193). For the changes at Masulipatam see p. 310.

when he came right against our shipp, drapt an anchor, and the ship shearinge with the tyde fired us alsoe, wherby wee are all undone[1] and your letters lost. But two nights before I came awaye Wright and Albertus, with Leaventhorp and his brother Charles, invited me to Pell Moores, where wee had a greate deale of drinke and much weepinge for the love they bore unto you.' Had hoped to see Robert Carpenter at Gombroon, but found that he was at Shirāz. Three weeks after they sailed, his man, Richard Robotham, died, by which means the writer lost 40*l.*; and on January 1 they lost their ship with everything in her and thirteen men. On the return of the fleet to Gombroon, he found Carpenter there, who gave him clothes and a chest, and they drank to Colley every night. Carpenter has sent the latter a chest containing nine bottles of Shirāz wine. Should Colley be dead or absent from Masulipatam, the writer was to make what profit he could of it; but, the *Swan* coming so fortunately, he thought good to send it by Jeremy Harrison, master's mate. 'Aly' Colley was well. He is with Mr. Burley in the 'frigott' (*Intelligence*); but had he known they were coming here, he would have endeavoured to get transferred. The writer is now entertained by the Captain, who proffered him to stay at Surat, but hearing from Mr. Turner that there was a chance of his meeting Colley, he could not be contented there. Is sorry now, seeing that he has lost his labour. Hopes to stay at Surat on his return, though he is very loath, in regard he is out of the climate of Marcus Tullius Cicero's strong beer. Intends to go home with Mr. Turner. Would be glad to hear from Colley at Surat, 'where I intende to picke upp and steale what I have loss't before.' *PS.*—John Davies remembers his love to Colley, and sends word that all the latter's friends near Drury Lane were very well, only Mrs. Holland is fled to Bristol. *PPS.* (*July* 5)—Since writing the above, the weather has been so foul that he could not get the wine aboard the *Swan*, which is full up with Moors' goods; prays him not to take it ill, for he shall have the same or a better courtesy next year. (2½ *pp.* *Seal.*)

[1] The wages of all employed ceased with the loss of the vessel.

George Gosnoll[1] in Masulipatam Road to Thomas Colley in 'Bengala', July 4, 1633 (*O.C.* 1509).

The *Jonas*, *Mary*, and *Hart* arrived here on May 28. He and many other friends hoped to see Colley, but were disappointed, though they are not sorry for the cause, 'in respect of the golden profitt your Bay voyage is like to turne you to accompt.' Turner, the 'Purser-Generall att Suratt', commends his love to Colley. Promised to convey this personally, and 'to have dranke a bowle of mugg[2] and laughed till your belly should wagge'. They are like to be here again next year, but this is not certain as yet. If he does not meet Colley then, he hopes to do so in England. (1 *p.* *Seal.*)

[Thomas Colley[3]?] at 'Harrapoore'[4] to Ralph Cartwright [at Balasore], July 17, 1633 (*O.C.* 1510).

Received his of the 27th ultimo on the 8th present. The delay in answering was due to the fact that the messenger who was sent on the 11th to Cuttack in quest of the letters from the 'Nabob'

[1] Purser of the *Jonas*.

[2] A drink known in India as 'cool tankard, or mug'. It is made of ale mixed with a little white wine or brandy, and flavoured with syrup, borrage, etc. (Riddle's *Indian Domestic Economy*, 1871, p. 352). Sir James Murray has kindly given me a reference to the *Sporting Magazine* of 1829 (vol. xxiii. p. 268) which speaks of 'the refreshing but dangerous liquor . . . known by the appellation of *mug*'.

[3] The document is unsigned and is apparently a copy. Mr. Sainsbury in his *Calendar* conjectured that the letter was written by John Powell; and Sir Henry Yule (who printed part of it in his *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii. p. 177) adopted the conjecture as a certainty. Clearly, however, if the date is right, Powell is impossible; for the *Swan*, on which he was purser, did not reach Bengal till after the letter was written, and Bruton tells us that Powell did not arrive at Hariharpur until September 19. Dr. Wilson (*Early Annals*, vol. i. p. 17), noticing this, and accepting on Yule's authority that Powell was the writer, altered the date to October 17; but this again is inadmissible, for, apart from the fact that the date is clearly written, it is confirmed by Bruton's statement that they received a letter from Cartwright on July 8, which agrees with the text. The question remains as to the identity of the real writer. I think that internal evidence points strongly to Thomas Colley, who was left in charge at Hariharpur. It is true that the handwriting is not his, and that the spelling differs considerably from that in his other letters; but of course the copy may have been made by one of the other factors, and it may have been done from dictation, in which case the writer would use his own spelling.

[4] Hariharpur, close to the modern Jagatsimhapur, a town in the Mahānadī Delta, about half-way between Cuttack and Harispur Gar, the port at which the English landed.

and others (herewith sent) did not return till last night. Since Cartwright's departure he has bought nearly 400 pieces [of cloth] and is doing his best to get more. 'Your opinnion of sending a man to Gagernat [Jagannāth, i.e. Purī] et setera places, there to procuer cloth, would very well becom our implyment had we but on home [i.e. one whom] we might truste in that bissines; but you well know the fallsity and desaytfullnes of our new implyed sarvants is such that we derst not depose confidence in them to the vallew of 10 rupees. Our sarvant Nirana [*see* p. 242] cannot be well spared from this place. I do therfoore mysellfe intend, so soone as I can gett musters of cassayes[1] which are now a-making, to leave the oversight of this place unto William Bruton and the broker, and adress myseulfe for the Greate Pogodo,[2] there soposing likewise to put ofe part such marchandise as heere lyeth ded on our hands. The market of saylls in Harrapoore seimes at present as if there were no marchantes in the cuntry, occasined (as I conceave the resone) of deepnes of winter, so that none can com neere us. Yet by chance I have gotten a marchante for our lead, how, if hee houlds [his] word, will [take it all at] 11 rupees per maune. [*Part illegible.*] Gould riders [*see* p. 77], som 50 peeces, I have sould at 10 rupee, 6 and a halfe annas; and no more is it worth, as I am certifyed by exsperience shrofs. Hee which gave you 10 rupees 10 annas returned with great lamentasion of his losse. Those Portinggalls whilome exspelled Hugly hath found greate favor with Shawgahan, and reentered that place to the number of 20 persones;[3] hows cavidall for theire commensing a new investment is the third part of there goods formerly cessed on, which with large priveliges and tashareefes[4] with honer the King hath beestowed on them. So that our exspecttacion [of] Hugly is frusstrayt, and I feare likwise Pippoly will n[ot by?] us be obtainened, beeing a nancient

[1] *Khāsa*, a kind of fine muslin; see the 1618–21 volume, p. 195.

[2] The temple of Jagannāth.

[3] Hūglī was attacked by the Mogul forces in June, 1632, and carried by assault at the end of September, very few of the Portuguese escaping. Four hundred prisoners were paraded before Shāh Jahān in July, 1633, and were given their choice between turning Muhammadans and perpetual imprisonment. A few adopted the former course and were rewarded. See Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. vii. p. 31; *Lisbon Transcripts, Doc. Remett.*, bk. 30, ff. 281, 288; Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. iii. p. 495; *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, pp. 145, 159, 195.

[4] Arabic *tashrīf*, 'honouring'; hence a complimentary present.

randyvoes of the[irs ?] how [i. e. who], som 10 parsones, have latly complained to this Nabob of our seeking to put them from that porte; how answered we intended no such mater, but only for Bollasary [Balasore] or Harssapoore [Harispur]; so with good delassa [encouragement: Hind. *dilāsā*] they were dismissed. Doutless if the Company will find benifit in this trade, as sartenly thay may if followed, [? they] must be at the ch[arge] yeerly to keept [a vessell] of foorse at Bolla[sary] et setery.' [*Part illegible.*] Leaves these matters to abler hands. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.* *Mutilated.*)

GEORGE WILLOUGHBY, ABOARD THE *GREAT JAMES* AT SEA,[1] TO THE COMPANY, AUGUST 2, 1633 (*O.C.* 1512).

Although he has written from time to time, he thinks it well to send this brief relation of his proceedings. Account of the voyage of the *Star* to Masulipatam. At that place he met Henry Sill, who had recently come thither from Bantam with the *Falcon* and *Dove*. Sill promised his assistance in making investments for the Second General Voyage, but all he did was to hinder the same. His reason was that he and others had made a contract to engross the coasting trade; and to this end he was anxious that a great part of the Company's estate should be left behind by both the *Falcon* and the *Star*, in order that he might make use of it. To effect this, he intended to seize the Masulipatam junks and thus provoke a fresh rupture, 'whereby the trade of white cloth (which are the pryme sorts for the south factories) would be shutt up from the Company, whose cheefe places of procuring are the neighbouring townes and villages of Musulpatnam, being Pettepully, Viracheroone, Pallicull [Palakollu], Narsapore, Montepully, etc.; which when shut upp, then halfe the yeerely cavidall sent to that coaste would be too much to be invested at Armagon, because that place yeildeth onely paynted and culloured cloth, but not any whites fitting the south factories; whereby two thirds of each yeeres stock would, untill peace were reestablished, be left on that coaste by Henrie Sills meanes for the furnishing and therewith prosecuting of his private trade.' To provoke hostilities, he tortured to death an inhabitant of Masulipatam, behaved badly to the authorities, and

[1] She reached the Thames about the end of August, 1633.

created disorders at Petapoli. In these measures, as tending towards the extirpation of the Company's trade, he is presumed to have been secretly encouraged by the Dutch, whose chief at Masulipatam was a partner with him in private trade, and has since been displaced on that account and his estate confiscated.[1] These wicked practices of Sill and his associates greatly hindered the *Star's* investments and caused her to lose her voyage for Macassar. On these grounds Willoughby, having received intelligence that the Company had appointed him to succeed Muschamp at Bantam, and having been acknowledged by the other factors as chief commander at Armagon for the time of his being there, took counsel with such of his associates as were not partners with Sill, and removed him and Read to Bantam. Sailed from Armagon on February 1 and arrived at his destination on March 27. Wrote to the Company about Sill's disorders on November 2, 1630, and January 30, 1631; also to Surat, urging the President and Council by their next letters to Bantam to 'strengthen me for the utter destroying of the monster private trade, being it had allmost devoured your greate trade; but, as by the issue appeared, they liked not my passed proceedings on Choromandell against private trade, nor future intents, but rather the cherrishing of that monster, against whome because I stood they have throwne me downe, notwithstanding their incourageing me thereto in the 5 clause of their letter of 29 September and 7 clause of letter 12 November, 1630; which it seemes was written onely for formallityes sake, that their copies might give them a loyall-like shaddowe before Your Worshipps'. Narrates his proceedings at Bantam. Found there a considerable quantity of private trade goods belonging to Skibbow and other merchants at Surat, which he intended to seize on receiving a reply from the President and Council to strengthen him therein. 'Mr. Thomas Rastell, by often discourses with me in England of the East India trade (before my knowledge of retorning into the parts of India), found me to be verie censible that the greate streame

[1] Cf. p. 262. Arent Gardenijs was sent from Batavia in May, 1632, to replace Isbrandszoon at Masulipatam; in the following September David Pieterszoon was dispatched to the Coast as President in supersession of Gardenijs; and in June, 1633, Isbrandszoon was sent to replace Pieterszoon. (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, pp. 76, 102, 200.)

of private trade did hynder and alsoe ruyne the Companies greate trade, and that I have often told him that its destruction was needfull for givinge of free progresse to your trade; whereby it seemes he doubted my prosecuting thereof this voyage. Yet when the Court was pleased to acquaint me that they intended me for President of Bantam and that I denied acceptance of that place, desiring rather to be one of Councell unto the President,[1] because my former experience had showed me that generall report had made that place vyle and burdensome . . . which my denyall and acceptance of inferior place he verie well liked. But when Your Worships, by your letter sent by him of 9 March, 1629 [1630], unto your Agent and Councell of Bantam, ordered (in its 6 clause) the present retorne of Mr. George Muschampe, because of the greate abuse by private trade, and appoynted me to succeede him [as] chiefe director in your southerne trade, then he againe suspected; yet he, in the 5 clause of letter dated in Surat 29 September, 1630, inferrs that greate confidence is had in my good integrity for reformacion of private trade; which (as it seemes) he more intended to thereby give Henry Sill and assistants notice thereof then advertisement unto me, whome he well knew before; by which your eleccion of me he was againe brought into a streight and just suspition that he should loose the profit of private trade in the south parts if I continued in place.' Believes that Rastell and all the rest of the factors were leagued together to promote their owne interests; 'soe that there was not any (as it seemes) but George Willoughby that was contrary to their proceedings; who, being but one among soe many, and subordinate unto Surat, was the easier to be rooted out, when they all set their hands herto. . . . Wherefore, being private trade was that they most desired, soe they accordingly prosecuted the same. . . . Whatsoever was pretended, Mr. John Skibbow was onely intended and accordingly sent on this ship *James* to Bantam for the setling and sure rootinge of private trade, favourable sales, and retornes of the great quantitye he caryed with him on the said *James*, with what had bene formerly left there; who was, in reguard of his former emynency and present speciall employment, to have the precedency and command, to

[1] There is no record of this in the Court Minutes; but they are missing for the second half of 1629.

thereby doe what he pleased; who should on some pretences cary me to Surat to be catholized (a new phrase used by the private traders at Surat). Henrie Sill was long after their determinacions removed from Armagon (being in January following) and caryed on ship *Starr* to Bantam; yet it seemes his remove served for a coverture and shaddowe of their cruell and vyle accions. Mr. Thomas Rastell thought (as it seems) to catch me soe suddenly at Bantam, and presently cary me to Surat, that I should have noe tyme to give Your Worships any advertisement thereof, and accordingly to turne me at Surat and then presently retorne me to my place in Bantam before the dispeede of ships for England, and to make all whole, that when you should heare of my injust remove you should then alsoe heare of my being replaced, etc.; but man determineth and God disposeth, for (to the breaking of his hart) noe part thereof was in his prefixed time effected.' Sent three letters to the Company by the *Palsgrave*, and a fourth from Mauritius on April 22, 1632. Rastell and his associates were so angry when they heard of Sill's removal ('for they were bereaved of a speciall impe') that they instructed Skibbow, on reaching Bantam, to land with a number of soldiers and seize Willoughby. It was lucky for them and for the Company's affairs that his going on board rendered this unnecessary; for, had they attempted to arrest him on shore, the Javans would probably have slain them all. When he displaced Sill at Armagon he acted in no such violent manner. He first called a consultation and was accepted as chief commander; then he notified the Governor and other chiefs; and then Sill was 'in friendly manner removed'. Declares that he had given the President and Council no cause of offence, except by opposing private trade. Narrates the proceedings at Bantam after the arrival of the barge of the *James* on July 24, 1631. The following day Sill endeavoured to incite the other factors to call Willoughby to account for his proceedings on the Coast; 'but I easily quieted his seditious practices.' The *James* arrived on August 24, when Willoughby was arrested and harshly treated, while Sill and Read were left at liberty and used with respect. Hoare, whom the Company had passed over, was made Agent, with Lawrence Henley as second, though the latter 'was more fit for Brydewell or Bedlam then mannageing your important affaires'.

Is glad that Henley has returned to England, since the Company will be able to call him to account for appropriating estate of theirs at Petapoli. Sill went to Batavia 'in tryumphing manner' with the musicians of the *James*, to re-animate the free burghers, who had been frightened by Willoughby's attitude from engaging in private trade with the English; also to help sell part of the private trade of the *James* and Captain Hall's beer and wine. In this they did not succeed, but they disposed of the *Falcon* itself there. Complains that no inventory was taken of his estate till some time after his arrest. The lading of the *James* was waiting for her, and she could have been dispatched in ten days; but she remained over forty, in order to dispose of her private trade, which was sufficient for six ships. This caused her to lose her monsoon. The factors' efforts to get rid of their goods having failed, she departed on October 7 with nearly 150 bales of returned private trade. To dispose of these she turned back again on November 6; whereupon Willoughby demanded to be sent to England on the *Palsgrave*, but this was refused by Skibbow. On his drawing the attention of Captain Morton and the new chiefs to the prevalence of private trade, they made a kind of seizure of some that would not sell, for which the Surat factors will be well satisfied out of the Company's estate. On the death of Morton, John White, master's mate, was placed in charge of the *James*, though a few months before he had been held by the Sea Council unfit for such a post, and there were better men available. On December 27 the *James* sailed for Mauritius, and arrived there February 3, but failed to find the *William* and *Blessing*, as expected. Wrote to the Company by two Dutch ships from Persia. Departed on June 12, and reached St. Augustine's Bay July 5, where he wrote another letter to them. At this place Skibbow died, without leaving any directions for the disposal of his own estate or of the private trade of others entrusted to his care; 'whereby maie appeare part of the wretched miserie of the private traders (destroyers of your India trade), whose estate is soe gained as at deceace dareth not to be revealed; soe shut up in obscurity, whereby the surviveing deceaver devoureth the estate of his fellow deceaced.' On July 14 the *James* left St. Augustine's, and proceeded to Johanna, arriving July 24. There many bales of calico that had failed to sell at

Bantam came to a good market, part being bartered at great profit for grain and other ship's provisions. 'The Dutch ships at Mauritius gave us to understand of one Capt. Quayle, that was com into India with a pinck reported to belong unto the King, but they conceaved him a pyrat; to whome your President and Councell at Surat gave good quarter; who had store of golde which he had taken. This golden (else worthelesse) captaine was by Mr. White much desired to be met, who hoped to see him at Mauritius; but finding him neither there nor at Augustine Baye, he afterwards found your *James* at Juana, where the sayd pynck arived the 9 August. Before whose arivall in the roade Mr. White, supposeing by her feature to be the same he longed for, sent his barge to helpe her in and to make a privy signe if it were the expected vessell; on which, as soone as shee came neere, the flag of the *Royal James* was held in, the pinck saluted, and then your flag furled; soe Captaine Quailes flag onely flying. The people of Juana well knew Captaine Quayle by his liberall dealing of his stolen goods at Island Mayotta, their neighbour, from whence he then came. They alsoe knewe your ship *James* by her touching there the former yeere with her fleete, and much wondered to see her take in her flagg to honour a theefe, which soe they termed; but the covetous man for gold doth more then this. After homage don by Mr. White, Captaine Quayle would have his vessell carreened with the provissions and carpenters of the *James*, who although wanted sufficient provissions for your use, yet Quayles loadstone could drawe it, who man-a-warr-like was free and jovyall, his chamber being the greate cabbin of your shipp *Royall James*; in which jollity five daies were spent; soe that it was the 15 daye before the pynck was preparing to carreene (in which tyme shee had bene don if Quayle had followed his busines); when the longbote of your *James* tooke in her ordnance and stores and brought them on bord your shipp; then your carpenters were mending her upper parts with calking, etc. The 16 daye came newes from your *Charles* fleete, and the 17 daie Captayne Weddell sent order that the *James* should com unto them at Mohilla; whereuppon Quayles guns and small stores were retorned on bord the pynck, etc. And the 19th came in the fleete to Juana, where Captayne Weddell tooke not in your flagge. The 24 August, 1632, your *James* with the fleete set sayle for Gom-

broone, where we arived the 2d October and stayed untill the 22 ditto. Heere your ships fyred powder soe fast as if sent forth to spend in feasts. In this place cloves and pepper, etc., bore good rates, to the inriching (as it seemes) of Mr. White and his consorts, who afterwards could bragg of thowsands estate. Yf they sold onely of their owne, the lesse prejudice unto the Company; and if none of your cloves (as alsoe pepper) embeaselled, what needed they have soked the remaynder, it being well knowne that cloves steeped, in sixe dayes lying, will yeild greate increase of weight, yet their wetting scarse discernable by unexperienced persons.' The fleet arrived at Surat on November 28, 1632. During its passage from Gombroon Sill died, after making over his estate to Read by a deed of gift. Willoughby endeavoured, but in vain, to induce 'dull John Bangam (who, if fit for interpreter of India language, not for more) to reserve it and deliver it over unto the President and Councell at Surat'. At the latter place Sill's death was much lamented, for the factors were in great need of such a trusty agent to 'helpe them fetch up their former yeeres greate losse which they by Surat Ragepootes had susteyned [*see* p. 217]'. However, Read was welcomed as a substitute. Willoughby was kept on board the *James* until January 7, 'although noe multiplicity of your affaires (as they missalleaged) was to cause the same, for their many brokers etc. servants at Surat doe soe ease them in the negociating your affayres that, writing excepted, your sole President and Councell medles but little therewith.' 'I expected from Mr. Gyffard a more tender care of your important affaires; but he tould me that he had children and that want brought him to India, whither he came to gaine wealth, and that before he came forth he told Your Worships that he came not for his wages; whereby you may perceive how quickly the former old doe infect the new. Their losses the last yeere by Surat Ragepoots was greate, and by fyer on the *Charles* increased. Your first sole President did (as it seemes) annymate their presumption in excesse of private trade; who had provided a junck, etc., to sweepe up much wealth in short tyme, but the Allmighty (I hope in mercie to your India trade) disappointed their project by death of the partners and destruction of the junck, who yet lyeth in the river of Surat for a spectacle of dishonesty.' On January 1, 1633, the

Swallow and *Charles* were burnt, owing to the commanders not obeying the Company's orders. At the instigation apparently of the sea commanders, Willoughby and the rest were summoned to Surat on January 7; and some days later they were examined before the President and Council regarding the removal of Sill, 'but not any thing concerning your affaires.' After a delay of some days, Willoughby was told that 'in reguard Mr. Rastell, who sent for us, was dead, they held it fitting to send us for England'. 'One thing not well omitted, which I understood at Surat, I thinck fit to heere incert; that is, your Surat factors, amongst many waies they have to deceave you, use one more remarkeable then the rest, by secretly convaieing for England on each ship estates, whereof some in goods but more in jewells and gould; for which, although they, as new commers, have noe e[state] of their owne, they are supplyed on credit; and if of greate estates (which cannot be gayned without purloyning from your trade) you cannot seaze thereon, or scarse take awaie your old factors, because for the first you shall not finde any estate, and next they are in debt, if not to you yet unto the Banians, which is supposed you must paye if you remove them. Now because that waye is discovered, som of them have by this ship seemed to shew the contrarie.' Willoughby demanded that Read should also be sent home in the *James*, but he and Mathew were dispatched to Sumatra instead. 'Mr. Hopkinson, by misfortune your sole President, who it seemes for covetousnes sake doth counterfeit himselfe a foole, used crafty wyles in their frivolous examining myselfe and others concerning the act of Armagon.' Hunter, finding himself slandered thereby, and being denied reparation, has come home to seek justice from the Company. White proved so helpful to the private traders that, 'to give like assistance for England,' the President and Council gave him the command of the *James*, though there were able men available. The ship left Swally Bar on January 28; reached Mauritius April 1; departed April 7; passed the Cape May 17; arrived at St. Helena June 6; and left again June 11. Encloses documents regarding the proceedings at Surat. Deplores the necessity of making such accusations; he neither hates nor envies the guilty parties, and if he seems more suspicious of evils than is necessary, he begs leave to assert that 'the evills in your India trade and servants are more

then I or any honest man can suspect'. *PS.* (*August* 22)—Though now safely arrived, he thinks it not impertinent to send this abstract 'in the interim of my coming unto you'. (11 *pp.*)

Consultation held at Surat by President Hopkinson and Council, August 4, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 229).

Thomas Ashwell, the steward, is dismissed on account of his drunkenness, and his quarrelsome disposition. Richard Belfield, who has been formerly employed at Ahmadābād in a like capacity, is appointed to the vacancy. (1 *p.*)

William Methwold at Johanna to President Hopkinson at Surat, August 20, 1633 (*O.C.* 1513).

Writes to enclose a few letters and to improve their former acquaintance. The uncertain and accidental knowledge which reached the Company of the great mortality in India has brought him out to a second employment in their service, yet not without hope to find that there had been a mistake and that his most affectionate friend Rastell was still living; but, meeting the *Blessing* on leaving the Downs, he to his sorrow was assured to the contrary. When he was nominated to succeed to the Presidency there was no knowledge of Hopkinson's incumbency; so he has not intentionally supplanted anyone. Was himself well inclined to accept the employment, and, being fairly treated in all respects, cheerfully agreed to take the post. Has learnt with much regret that the distracted affairs in India, now known to be worse than was feared in England, will give more care and trouble than before, and yet the Company will receive less satisfaction; still, he can only do his duty to the utmost of his ability and leave the rest to God. Their common friends in England he left in good health, and 'become honest men in being well married; such were Mr. Wild, Mr. Muschampe, and Mr. Page; all three of them so lately coupled that it is some newes to advise theareof'. Sends greetings to Mountney, Giffard, and any other acquaintances. (1 *p.* *Seal.* *Received September* 12.)

Consultation held at Surat by President Hopkinson and Council, September 12, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 230).

The pinnace *Intelligence*, having met at Johanna the new fleet from England, and being thence dispeeded with letters from William Methwold, 'the elected President,' and other merchants, reached this port to-day. The Council, considering the intelligence thus received, and finding that the excessive rates and bad quality of all sorts of goods at the inland factories promise no benefit from investments for Europe, Persia, or Bantam, conclude to forbear awhile, in expectation of more propitious times, 'with some dependance upon Bengala, whose present plenty of such comodities promiseth some supplie.' As, however, the trade on the west coast of Sumatra proves a profitable one, despite the high prices here, it is resolved to provide at Ahmadābād, Cambay, Baroda, and Broach a sufficient quantity of goods to furnish a cargo for the *Reformation*. Several Portuguese frigates being in sight, the master of the *Intelligence* is ordered to bring his vessel up the river to Surat for safety. (1 *p.*)

Another Consultation, September 25, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 231).[1]

The *Intelligence* is to be repaired at an estimated cost of about 20*l.* (1 *p.*)

William Gibson, Richard Cooper, and William Fall at Ispahān to the Company, September 28, 1633 (*O.C.* 1514).

. . . Find that they were mistaken as to Dutch projects against 'Mombass' [*see p.* 297]. Four of their ships were sent to Mozambique to look for carracks, but returned to Gombroon without any prizes. . . . Beg to be advised how far the Company is resolved to go concerning an attack on Muskat, and on what conditions assistance should be lent. Were afraid the question would be raised on their last visit to court; but nothing was said and they avoided any reference to it. Would be glad of an early decision, as the

[1] This is the last occasion on which Hopkinson signs a document. Presumably he was in charge when Methwold arrived (Nov. 7), as nothing is said to the contrary; but he did not attend the consultation of Nov. 12 or any subsequent meeting. In any case he must have died before the end of the year, as his decease is referred to in a Dutch letter dispatched in December (*Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 262).

Hollanders may creep in, 'to our noe smale disgrace.' This year the new Dutch Agent [*see* p. 305] proffered their services in anything His Majesty should command, boasting their power at sea. On a rumour being spread that the Portuguese intended an attack on Bahrein, 'the fishing place of pearle,' the Hollanders petitioned the Shāh for certain frigates lying 'in Bander' [Gombroon], offering, if supplied with munition, to fit them up and man them, 'and soe scower the Gulfe yearly that a Portingall should not dare to looke therin to molest any of His Majesties subjects in the least,' on condition that they should have half the booty taken. This request the Shāh has granted; but it was preferred only to bring their nation into credit, whereas at present they are 'but meanely respected heere over what wee are'. Did not attempt to prevent this concession (as they could have done), because it seemed better that the Dutch should do this drudgery than that the English should undertake it, for it is likely to cost more in lives and expense than any gain can countervail. Possibly the Shāh may proffer the Dutch the taking of Muskat also, and they would no doubt accept it gladly; but at the least rumour of any such thing on foot the factors will bend all their endeavours to bereave them of their purpose. The Shāh's setting out from Kasbin for Van to war against the Turks was so sudden that they had no opportunity to complain about the Hollanders not paying them customs [at Gombroon]; but in any case the Dutch would have resisted, 'and brybes heere doe strange things.' Had the Company got it urged in King Charles's letter, the question would probably have been settled in their favour; this should be done when another letter is sent. . . . The account of customs received this year at Gombroon is the poorest yet seen, the Company's share being only 242 tūmāns. Find that they have been strangely abused by a linguist of theirs, who shall be punished. 'Almost the whole kingdome of Georgea now growes under this Emperours government; betrayed (as reporte goes) by itts owne nobillitye. Soe that the Kinge thereof, Tamoris Caune, with his wife and children, was faine to fly to a neighbouring prince, his sonn-in-law, for shelter (it beinge a place invincible, they say); where ever since his misfortune befell him hee hath lived, and soe remaynes till tymes may better favour him.[1]'

[1] T'heimuraz I, King of Cakhet'hi (the eastern third of the disintegrated kingdom

Deaths and sickness among the factors; 'the bread wee eate from you is dearly earned.' . . . *PS.* (29th)—. . . Four more Dutch ships have reached Gombroon from Batavia. *PPS.* (30th)—Have just heard that the *Jonas*, *Mary*, and *Hart* have arrived at that port from Masulipatam, laden only with freight goods, to the value of 3,000*l.* and upwards.[1] They brought a letter from Surat, of which a copy is enclosed; will answer its accusations and censures later. 'Capt. Slade writes that on the 20th June last your ship *Swan* arived at Meslapotam with a good cargazon, thinking to have invested it there in goodes of that place; but the rage of famine and pestilence hath soe ranged all those partes that there was not any goodes to bee had at any rates; soe weere faigne to enorder hir proceede for Bangala, where it seemes they had better hopes. Wee understand alsoe that in the *Mary* is Mr. John Norris, your late Agent at Meslapotan, coming home towards you; and in his stead is left Mr. Thomas Joyce.' Particulars of the cargo brought by the Hollanders. (4 *pp. The rest of the letter is occupied with details of the Company's affairs in Persia.*)

EDWARD HAYES[2] AT 'BALLASARRA' TO JOHN POWELL AT 'HARRAPOORE', [OCTOBER ?] 25, 1633 (*O.C.* 1516).

Has received his letters of October 4 and 12, and will attend to his wishes regarding Banester's[3] trunk. Fears the cloths are spoilt for want of airing. Wrote concerning it to Cartwright, but had no answer; is loath to break the trunk open without orders. Cannot hear of Powell's three cases, except one which Mountney has, and which shall be brought in the ship. Cannot learn anything of the keys. Will follow his directions as to provisions when Cartwright comes, which will be the 30th of this month (as he writes). Powell's

of Georgia), refused to surrender to the Persian Shāh the fugitive Dāūd Khān [*see* p. 293]; whereupon the Shāh sent an army against him. T'heimuraz fled into Imerethi (the western third of the former kingdom), the king of which (Giorgi) had a son and destined successor, Alexandré, who had married T'heimuraz's daughter, Darejan. The place where T'heimuraz took refuge was Scanda, a fortress about 16 miles S.E. of Kutaïs.

[1] A list of the goods is given at p. 261 of the *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, where it is also stated that sixty men had died between Masulipatam and Gombroon, and a great many more were sick.

[2] He was purser's mate on board the *Swan*, which was then lying at Balasore.

[3] Alexander Banester, factor, died soon after the arrival of the *Swan* (*O.C.* 1536).

man 'Grooa' [see p. 231] refused to pay Hayes the rupee which he was to receive of him ; so Powell must recover it himself. 'For passages aboard, which you desire to heare, is none of the best, for since our coming from Messulapatam we have buried 15 men out of the ship, Mr. Vaughters being one.' The latter before his death made over most of his estate (about 110*l.*) to Mr. Moore and Thomas Johnson to pay to his wife in England, his reason being that if the money were put into the purser's book it would go to his creditors and his wife would get nothing. Regrets to hear of Powell's ill-health ; he himself continues very well. The day after Powell's departure, his detention on shore was notified to Hayes by Cartwright, who also ordered Hayes to assume the duties of purser. Marvelled at this, as he had heard nothing from Powell himself; but Cartwright showed him the consultation on the subject, to which Powell's hand was set ('itt may be to what you never ment'). Evidently Cartwright intends now to keep him on shore. Travell desires to be excused for not writing, as he is unwell ; but he has received all the things specified in Powell's letter. (1 *p.*)

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN ALLNUTT'S FLEET, BY RICHARD FORDER [1] (*Marine Records*, vol. lx).

1633, *March* 7. The fleet sailed from Gravesend, in company with the *Comfort*, bound for Bantam. *March* 23. After being detained in the river for a fortnight by contrary winds, they this day reached the Downs. *March* 25. 'The President' [Methwold] came on board. *March* 30. The *Reformation's* skiff was upset and five men drowned. *April* 7. The fleet sailed, having in company Captain May's ship for Guinea, Captain Powell's for Barbary, Captain John Rose's for New England, and two more. Met the *Blessing* and gave her some provisions. *April* 8. Quitted the *Blessing*. *April* 10. Lost sight of the Lizard. Forder was transferred to the *Discovery*, in place of Philip Totton, deceased *April* 20. Captains May and Powell parted company. *April* 25. Passed through the Canaries. *May* 8. Put six of their guns into the hold. *July* 8. Saw the African coast. *July* 10. Caught

[1] He was a master's mate, first in the *Palsgrave* and then in the *Discovery*. Another account of the voyage, by William Speare of the *Discovery*, will be found in vol. lix of the same series ; but it adds nothing material.

a glimpse of Table Mountain. *July* 23. Anchored in St. Augustine's Bay. *July* 25. Carried ashore their sick men, of which the *Discovery* had twenty or thirty. Learned from letters that they were expected to join Weddell's fleet in the Persian Gulf. *August* 1. Sailed. *August* 6. Passed the island of Juan de Nova. *August* 10. Mounted their ordnance once more. *August* 12. Reached Johanna and found the *Intelligence* riding there. Nine days later she was sent to Surat with letters. *August* 23. Sailed. *September* 8. Prepared the ship for fighting. *September* 13. Saw the Arabian coast. *September* 19. At Jask heard that Weddell's fleet had passed on the 9th and would wait for them at Gombroon till the 20th. *September* 21. Reached that port and found there Weddell's three ships. *October* 10. All six sailed for India. *November* 5. Anchored in Swally Hole, where they found seven Dutch ships.[1] The *Intelligence* was at Surat. *November* 6. Two of the Dutch vessels sailed for Persia. *November* 7. Methwold landed, under a salute of eleven guns. A Portuguese fleet of from ninety to a hundred frigates passed, bound for Cambay. *November* 27. The *Intelligence* came into the Hole. *December* 20. Two Dutch ships [2] sailed for Holland, and the rest of their fleet went out to see them safely off the coast. *December* 21. Skirmish with some Portuguese frigates returning from Cambay. The Dutch took two and burnt a third, while the English captured a country boat. *December* 24. Another skirmish. The English took eight country boats, and the Dutch six. All these were released on the demand of the Governor of Surat.[3] (*66½ pp.*)

Consultation held at Surat by President Methwold and Council,[4] November 12, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 233).

The Company's letter is considered. In consequence of their reproof for the non-employment of John Bangham in Persia, it is

[1] Under Governor Philip Lukaszoon.

[2] Speare notes the arrival on Dec. 10 of five Dutch ships, with a pinnace and a prize. This was the fleet commanded by Jan Carstenszoon, which had been at Gombroon and on the Malabar Coast. The two vessels which now departed were the *Amsterdam* and *Leeuwarden*, under the command of Lukaszoon.

[3] For these skirmishes with the Portuguese, and Mīr Mūsā's anger at the captures made, see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. x. no. 319, and *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, p. 327.

[4] Mountney, Giffard, Chew, and Turner. John Norris, though not a member of the Council, took part in the consultations until his departure for England in the *Mary*.

resolved to send him thither on his return from Burhānpur. Bantam and Persia being now well stored with money, while at Surat the factors are in debt to the extent of 90,000*l.*,[1] it is decided to land all the gold and silver in the fleet, save five chests of rials. As the Governor last year refused all their cloth (though brought at his request) and still detains their lead, in order to force them to sell it to him at his own price, they determine not to bring ashore any more cloth or lead except upon some agreement made with him. As regards calico and indigo investments, the Council regret that they cannot correspond with the Company's expectations, 'the course indico of Cirqueze [Sarkhej] and Amadavad being now equall in price to that of Agra and Biana, and likewise all sorts of clothing so excessively deare and scarse in these parts that the small portion to be had in Baroch, Brodera, Amadavad, &c., will in no wise yeild more then (or scarse) their prime costs in England.' For the satisfaction of the Company it is resolved to send home 'musters' of each sort. The provision of sugar and gum-lac is to be referred to Masulipatam, 'to be procured in Bengala, where they are reported to be had there very cheape and as good as the Company do desire.' Thomas Chew is appointed Warehouse-keeper and Fourth of Council. Abel Druce is to proceed to Ahmadābād with the next caravan and there to take the place of Third; in the meantime he is to be employed at 'Raneale' in taking account of the goods sent to the waterside for lading the *Mary*. Nathaniel Kingsland, chief of the three factors appointed for Bantam, is to view the musters of calicoes intended for the west coast of Sumatra. Nothing having been heard from Bangham for six weeks, and his last letter intimating that he was sick, it is decided to send Joseph Keeling and William Colliard to ascertain the state of affairs at Burhānpur. Peter Mundy, who is bound home in the *Mary*, his time being expired, is meanwhile appointed Factor for the Marine. It is determined not to land the tapestry now arrived on behalf of Alderman Andrewes and Alderman Perry, 'these people not a whitt respecting this kind of commoditie, though never so ritche. A diurnall observation of all materiall passages attending this factorie was willingly resolved to be practised from henceforward, and kept in a booke apart, according to

[1] Cf. *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34, pp. 265, 336.

the Companies requiry. This finished, the last from Agra was read, complaining of the King's continued resolve to monopolize all the indico, and the seemeing unlikelihood for us to purchase the same at our accustomary rates ; wherupon arose a proposition whether it would not be beneficiall to the Company to contract with the Dutch nation (according to their Governours late proffer) for devising some course, if possible, to draw downe the price. This no sooner uttered but their faithfulnes stood questionable (as by former experience), whether they would not slight us and their owne promises after a while and fall of for their owne advantage.' After discussion, it was resolved to take the next opportunity of conference with the Dutch 'to project and agree upon the best way that may offer the usuall benefitt of the indico trade equally and indifferentlie to the fruition of both Companies'. (4 *pp.*)

WILLIAM FREMLEN, JOHN ROBINSON, JOHN DRAKE, AND JOSEPH DOWNHAM AT AGRA TO THE [PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT?], NOVEMBER 12, 1633 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 306).[1]

Since they last wrote, the position as regards the indigo trade has grown worse. A contract has been made between the King and 'Munnodas[2] Dunda', by which the latter is granted the sole right of buying all indigo grown in the kingdom, and in return is to pay at the end of three years the sum of 1,100,000 rupees, viz. 200,000 rupees per annum out of his profits and 500,000[3] in repayment of a loan made to him out of the royal treasury; if, however, the merchants refuse to buy from 'Munnodas', and the indigo remains on his hands, he is excused from all payment to the King except in respect of the loan. This is a very good bargain for the contractor, who cannot lose, and is fairly sure to

[1] A Dutch version, made from an extract certified by President Methwold under date of December 17, 1633. The original letter has not been traced.

[2] Elsewhere the name is generally given as 'Manoardas' or some similar form. Probably it was Manōhar Dās Danda.

[3] In the Dutch version these figures are 1,100, 200, and 500 respectively, but the V for 'thousand' has evidently been omitted by the transcriber. In no. 318 of the same series the amount to be paid to the treasury is stated as 1,000,000 rupees. The *Dagh-Register*, 1631–34 (p. 326), gives the price of the monopoly as 400,000 rupees.

make a good profit. The whole of Hindustan[1] produces scarcely 15,000 maunds, of which the Biāna indigo forms only about a third; therefore he can easily force up the price, especially as the English and Dutch usually buy only the latter kind. Not that the kind made on the other side of the river, at Coaria, Coule, Jellaly,[2] and other places, is absolutely useless; but it is not to be compared with the Biāna product, as is shown by the difference in price, which is usually 5 or 6 rupees per maund. Cannot recommend that any purchases be made at such a price as 50 rupees per maund. Care must, however, be taken that the Dutch do not steal a march on the English. If some agreement could be made at Surat that both nations should abstain from buying, the Governor there would soon feel the loss of revenue and would try to remedy matters. To this may be added the clamour of the people dependent on the cultivation of indigo, roused by the loss of their means of livelihood; for many of the cultivators (being in general a resolute harebrained folk) have already rooted up their plants. A proposal has been made to the English to farm the indigo area themselves on the same terms as 'Munnoardas', but there are so many difficulties in the way that they cannot think of doing this. In the first place, it would certainly be a pretext for exaction. Secondly, in these parts one cannot expect next year half the quantity produced this year. Thirdly, whatever authority the King may give, it would be impossible for them to deal as rigorously with the people as their fellow-countrymen can. They are of opinion, therefore, that the best course would be to covenant with the Dutch to make no purchases during the present year; but of course they will follow any orders they may receive. (7 *pp.*)

Consultation held at Surat by President Methwold and his Council, November 14, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 237).

The President claims the right of appointing a minister for the factory, 'justly challenging the usuall and necessary authoritie accustomated formerly by all principalls at their first comeing'; he

[1] Used in the restricted sense of the province of Agra and the neighbouring parts.

[2] The places indicated seem to be Jalālī, Koil, and perhaps Korīa—all in the Alīgarh tahsīl. Mundy bought indigo at 'Coel' for the Company in 1631.

has nothing to urge against Mr. Hall but, having been long acquainted with Mr. Hatch,[1] 'whome he delivered to be an honest, painfull, and conscionable man, so he more willingly desired still his conversation.' A 'large dispute' ensues, but in the end, considering that Hall has been three years at Surat and that he was neither appointed to the factory by the Company nor engaged for any definite period, it is decided that he shall give way to Hatch, and make his choice whether to go to Bantam or Persia or to return to England in the *Mary*, retaining his present appointment until his departure. The dispatch of Keeling to Burhānpur is deferred, a servant being sent thither with a letter instead. After considering various courses for discovering at least the amount of private trade landed at the customhouse, it is held meet to deal secretly with the Customer to impart this information for a small bribe. The chief merchants of the town have been consulted as to the amount expected as a present by 'Meir Mosa', 'according to annuall custome at ships arivall,' and have named 200*l*. This is considered a great sum; 'but finding (by instant search) so much to have bin given him in President Rastell's time, and being sensible likewise of our disrespect by this Governour the yeare past, and how exceedingly our buisines was slighted for default of his last present (which, being somewhat short of the pre-mentioned somme, he discourteously refused), this Counsell therfore seriously consulting theron, as also of the excessive bountie of our corrivall the Dutch nation, who the last yeare gave him at once [*blank*] in many ritch guifts, and this yeare two ellephants, besides other rarities presented him at their first arivall,[2] and evidently perceiving that without this yearly custome (which is now become a law inviolable) it will be very difficult to remove all the rubbs that hinder the safe progresse of our masters affaires, subject variously to suffer under his perfidious humors, with one free

[1] The Rev. Arthur Hatch, who had come out as a preacher in the *Charles* in 1632. He had previously been in the Indies from 1619 to 1623, and had given Purchas an account of Japan which was printed at p. 1696 of the second volume of the *Pilgrimes*. It is interesting to note that on this second occasion George Oxenden (the future President of Surat) came out as a lad in attendance upon Hatch (*O.C.* 1656).

[2] It was probably in return for these courtesies that Mīr Mūsā presented the Dutch with a fine garden near Surat, valued at from ten to twelve thousand mahmūdīs (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. no. 318).

voice condicended to stopp his mouth with severall sorts English commodities, which shall amount neare unto the somme aforesaid.' (2 *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD AT SURAT BY PRESIDENT METHWOLD AND HIS COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 15, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 239).

As the result of a conference with the Dutch, the following draft agreement is submitted for discussion: (1) that both nations shall for the year ensuing forbear to buy indigo anywhere in this kingdom except at prices to be agreed upon; (2) that should any opportunity occur of buying at or under those prices, purchases shall be made by the factors of both Companies, 'with a seeming strife and emulation as at other times, or in such guise as these people may not perceive their private combination'; (3) that all indigo thus obtained shall be equally divided at the port, charges of transport being paid jointly; but if the amount due to the actual purchaser be not refunded within twenty days of the arrival of the goods at Swally, the whole parcel shall become the property of the Company by whose factors it was bought; (4) that, as long as this contract holds, neither Company shall transport any indigo in their ships for Moors or other persons. With regard to the first proposition, some fear was expressed as to the effect on the Company's business of ceasing for a whole year to buy so staple a commodity as indigo; but in reply it was pointed out that the whole amount available for investment will not suffice to pay the debts at Surat, which amount fully to 100,000*l.*, and it is scarcely to be expected that the Company, having learned 'the sad praedicament of India' as a field for investment, and being still ignorant of 'their great engagements', will next year send any large sum of money. Moreover, it is quite possible that, without indigo, a cargo can be provided sufficient to lade home one ship, seeing that a large quantity of silk is expected from Persia, that the *Mary* will probably have to leave behind part of the goods from Agra, and that the returns from Sumatra will also be available. The Company have already expressed concern when they were but half so much indebted, and have forbidden them to borrow beyond their means, 'and then not much to exceed the limitt of 20,000*l.*'

Further, the large quantity of indigo already in England 'will require a breathing time for its profittable vend'. It is therefore resolved to refrain from buying indigo till next year be expired, and to use the money thus available in satisfying their creditors. The second and third conditions are approved. The prices to be suggested to the Dutch are: for Biāna indigo, 42 rupees for old and 38 for new, per Akbarī maund, equalling 50 lb.: for Sarkhej indigo, 16 or 18 rupees per Surat maund.[1] As regards the probability of the Dutch breaking away from their engagement, as they did on a former occasion (alleging a countermand received from Batavia), 'Signor Lucas, etc., averreth to have greater authority from their said Generall then ever any had before him, and therfore what contracts soever he makes shall stand inviolable'; and in any case the Council think themselves sufficiently secured. It would be well, however, to require that at the expiration of eleven months each party should make known to the other whether the contract is to be continued or abrogated at the end of the year. The fourth proposition is considered very necessary, and in order to bind the Dutch more strictly to its performance, a suggestion is to be made to them that, if either party infringe the regulation, a fine of 5,000*l.* shall be inflicted without remission. (3¾ *pp.*)

Consultation held at Surat by President Methwold and his Council, November 18, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. i. p. 241).

Both the Dutch and the English Councils having approved the draft indigo agreement already submitted (save that an oath is to be submitted for the proposed engagement to pay a fine), 'a solemne contract, consisting of 13 distinct articles,'[2] is read to the Council, approved, and ordered to be signed and sealed. (¾ *p.*)

Another Consultation of the Same, November 20, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 243).

'Somgee Chitta' [Somjī Chitta], a broker, protests against being charged with the value of some calico which, during Rastell's

[1] This tariff was accepted by the Dutch; also the suggestion that a month's notice should be given of the termination of the contract.

[2] For a copy see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. ix. nos. 305, 313. The contract was signed on November 19.

presidency, was 'made away by the washers and the money spent in victualls'; and he produces Henry Glascock, who bears witness that the broker warned Rastell that the cloth would not be safe and that he would not accept any responsibility in the matter. In view of this testimony, and of the honesty and fidelity of the said broker, the Council decides to release him from the obligation. In response to the constant promptings from home, endeavours have been made to suppress private trade by warning all concerned of the penalties they will incur, and by exhorting every officer to seize goods of this nature; it is now ordered that a written notification to this effect be sent down for general information. (1 *p.*)

EDWARD HAYES AT 'BALLASARRA' TO JOHN POWELL AT 'HARRAPOORE', [NOVEMBER ?[1]] 25, 1633 (*O.C.* 1511).

Has received from him three letters of various dates, in the last of which he desired Hayes to send him his lead and tin. Reminds him that in his last letter to Cartwright he asked him to take charge of those goods, and they have been delivered accordingly to George Travell, by Cartwright's orders. Has paid the moneys specified in the note left with him by Powell. Begs the latter not to forget to invest the sum delivered to him by the writer. 'You may expect us at Harrsapoore [Harispur] by the 10th of the next month att furthest, against which time pray lett everything be in readynes, that we may not stay long for them.' Will account when they meet for what was left with him by Powell. *PS.*—Commendations to Bruton. ($\frac{1}{2}$ *p.* *Damaged.*)

[1] This letter, like *O.C.* 1516, is merely dated 'the 25th, 1633, att night.' September 25 is hardly likely, since Powell did not reach Hariharpur till the 19th of that month, while Hayes refers to three letters received from him since his departure; moreover, mention is made of the probability of the *Swan* being at Harispur by 'the 10th of the next month att furthest', whereas we know that she was still at Balasore after October 10. As we already have a letter from Hayes to Powell (*O.C.* 1516) which we have found cause to assign to October 25, it is improbable that the present one can be of the same date; and so we are driven to conjecture that November was the right month.

Consultation held aboard the *Palsgrave* by the President and Council and the Sea Commanders,[1] December 2, 1633 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. i. p. 244).

The employment of the various ships being debated, it is determined to send the *Reformation* to Sumatra next month for pepper, and another ship (probably the *Hart*, on her return from Persia) to Bantam to lade for England. The *Intelligence*, having been made fit for service again, is to accompany the *Reformation* and assist in fetching pepper for her; and then, if she can be spared from this employment, she is to be dispatched in June to the Comoros as before. As regards the rest, it is at present intended that on their return from Persia they shall proceed to Madagascar to meet the new fleet. Two hundred men appointed to the *Mary*, homeward bound. Stores apportioned to the various ships. Large quantities of private trade having been landed, yet the owners not known, the commanders are required to declare whether they have any interest therein; but they all disclaim participation in the same or knowledge of what pertains to others. Two of the *Palsgrave's* men, captured while trying to escape to Damān, are sentenced to receive twenty lashes at the side of every ship in the road, with a drum to give notice thereof, and a writing set up at the mainmast. A cable to be furnished to the *Jonas* by the *Palsgrave*. (3 *pp.*)

Consultation held aboard the *Jonas* by the Same, December 13, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 247).

John Jones is appointed master of the *Intelligence* in the place of John Burley, deceased. Two mates to be chosen for that vessel. The dispute between Captain Swanley and John Kingston, his purser, is heard, and witnesses are examined on both sides; after which it is decided to leave the matter to be decided by the Company at home.[2] (1 *p.*)

[1] Weddell, Slade, Allnutt, Swanley, Monk, and Henry Dunn. Norris and Wyche were also present.

[2] The consultation is followed by Kingston's letter containing the charges, of which the most serious are that Swanley had struck the purser and had sold some of the Company's wine as his own; by Swanley's answer, admitting the former charge, but denying the latter, and bringing counter-charges; and by the evidence of witnesses on both sides (9 pp. in all).

PRESIDENT METHWOLD AT SURAT TO FATHER ALVARO TAVARES[1] [AT DAMĀN], DECEMBER 14, 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. lxxxiv. part iii. p. 21[2]).

Encouraged by the part already played by the Provincial in removing misunderstandings between the English and Portuguese in India, Methwold requests his assistance in perfecting this good work. Has had frequent conference on the subject with Fathers Paulo Reimão and Jacobo [de Abreu], and, noting how religiously the peace concluded between the Kings of England and Spain has been observed in Europe, he 'cannott choose but hope that some good mediatours might accomplish the like good effects in India'. If, therefore, the Provincial shall find that the Viceroy (or 'those three noble gentlemen authorized with his power'[3]) understands the clause mentioned in the second article of the treaty to extend to the East Indies, the English on their part are ready to 'lay by these our unwilling armes' and to participate in 'all mutuall offices of assured amity'. Further, they are prepared, on receipt of a safe-conduct, to send one or two representatives to discuss details. If, on the other hand, the authorities at Goa maintain that the English are excluded from the East Indies, the negotiations must be abandoned, to Methwold's regret. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

FATHER TAVARES AT DAMĀN TO PRESIDENT METHWOLD AT SURAT, DECEMBER $\frac{21}{31}$, 1633 (*Ibid.*, p. 22[2]).

Has received the President's letter from the Fathers residing in Surat. Is very desirous of doing anything in his power to effect so laudable an object, and it was for this end that he sent the two Fathers to Surat as mediators. Being about to depart for Goa, he leaves this letter with the three noble Councillors of State, in order that it may be forwarded with the desired safe-conduct; he has also written fully to them on the subject. (*Copy. Portuguese.* 1 *p.*)

[1] Provincial of the Jesuits. He left Portugal for the East in 1630.

[2] Another copy will be found in the *East Indies* series (vol. iv A, no. 116) at the Public Record Office.

[3] Francisco de Moura, José Pinto Pereira, and Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca. They had been deputed by the Viceroy to visit the 'fortresses of the North' and to settle affairs in those parts.

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